

THE RELATIONSHIP OF  
RACIAL IDENTITY, BICULTURALISM,  
AND SELF-ESTEEM TO  
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS IN  
BLACK AMERICANS

By

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This dissertation is dedicated with love and gratitude to my husband, Ken Hughes, my sister, Carolyn Ward, and my brother-in-law, Maurice Ward, for their support and patient understanding throughout this project.

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By

Betty Sanders Hughes

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The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship of racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem to socioeconomic status in Black Americans. A total of 261 volunteer subjects (67 males and 194 females) from predominantly Black churches in the South Florida area were administered a Survey Questionnaire, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale, the Biculturalism Experience Inventory, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.

For males, results of correlation analyses showed significant relationships between socioeconomic status and the following: a positive relationship with

self-esteem, a negative relationship with the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes, and a positive relationship with the internalization component of racial identity attitudes. For females, socioeconomic status was significantly related to self-esteem, negatively related to pre-encounter and immersion/emersion components, and positively related to the internalization component of racial identity attitudes.

Among the three identity variables, significant relationships were found between the internalization component and biculturalism; and self-esteem was related negatively to the pre-encounter and immersion/emersion components and positively related to the internalization components of racial identity attitudes.

Results of multiple regression analysis for males showed that 27% of the variance of socioeconomic status could be explained by the scores on instruments measuring the four separate components of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem. The internalization component of racial identity attitudes was found to be significantly related to socioeconomic status for men.

For females, results of multiple regression analysis showed that 23% of the variance of socioeconomic status could be explained by scores on instruments measuring the four components of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem. The internalization component again had a significant positive relationship to socioeconomic status, and the immersion/emersion component had a significant negative relationship to socioeconomic status for women.

This study points out the need to explore the relationship of identity variables when counseling Black clients who are striving to succeed; however, caution is advised regarding the limited generalizability of these findings.

## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between ethnic/racial identity variables and the socioeconomic status of Black\* Americans. Black people born in the United States live in two cultures, identifying themselves both as ethnic minorities and as American citizens. This concept was expressed clearly by Du Bois who wrote, "One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro" (Du Bois, 1903/1982, p. 45).

In order to participate fully in both the minority Black culture and the dominant White culture, it is important that a balance be achieved between the set of norms that exists for each culture. Extremism in either direction could create disequilibrium in the overall cultural milieu.

Because this balance is so important to achieving a sense of comfort in both worlds, it would be expected

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\*Please note: The words "Black" and "White" have been spelled with initial capital letters except in direct quotes when the original source used lower case spellings.

that the achievement of success in the majority culture would be related in some way to identity variables, those variables that refer to the image that a person has of himself or herself, the inner picture of "this is who I am." Three identity variables seem especially important in this regard: racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem. Racial identity refers to one's attitudes and beliefs regarding one's race (Parham & Helms, 1981); biculturalism refers to the ability to function in two cultures at the same time (Rashid, 1981); and self-esteem refers to a global estimate of one's personal identity or sense of self-worth (Rosenberg, 1972).

Information regarding these ethnic/racial identity variables may be useful to Black students who need help to increase their chances of socioeconomic success in the dominant White culture. Counselors and other helping professionals who work with Black youth need more information regarding the achievement of socioeconomic success in Black Americans so that their effectiveness in this area may be enhanced. Teachers may also be able to utilize information regarding racial/ethnic identity variables as part of classroom discussions and to increase their understanding of the needs of Black students.

Ethnic/racial identity variables have changed focus in the last few decades. Although American Black people have always had to deal with the double identity issue, only recently has the whole range of socioeconomic status options been available to them in both the minority and majority cultures. It would be expected, then, that ethnic/racial identity development would progress at different rates within this new and more equal opportunity structure. The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between ethnic/racial identity factors and success in the present socioeconomic environment.

Until the civil rights movement, opportunities for Black Americans to work and go to school in mainstream American society were severely limited. While Blacks could achieve vertical mobility within a given community, even horizontal movement into the White culture was rare (Antonovsky, 1967). This history of discrimination has left many Black people struggling against overwhelming odds. A disproportionate number (compared to Whites) continue to live in poverty, to be unemployed, and to be under-educated. In 1985, reports from the Census Bureau showed that "more than one of every five American children are poor; for blacks, about half are poor"

(Dewart, 1987, p. 11). The unemployment rate for Blacks in 1982 was almost twice the rate of unemployment of the total population, and college degrees numbered less than half compared to the total population (Bureau of the Census, 1984). There are recent indications that fewer Black students are attending college in 1989 than did Black students of ten years ago (Parker, personal communication, October 14, 1989).

At the same time that many Blacks are struggling with lower socioeconomic conditions, many other Blacks are beginning to achieve. Since the civil rights movement, new laws have provided job opportunities where there had previously been overt color boundaries, and an upsurge of Black consciousness has encouraged many to pursue these new avenues to socioeconomic success. Black success stories have been documented in newspapers and magazines (e.g., Brashler, 1978; Leifermann, 1988), and a Black person was recently a serious candidate for the highest office in our land.

Blacks are, therefore, now represented in the whole range of socioeconomic status positions. However, socioeconomic success in the dominant White American society is still a relatively new possibility for most Black Americans. Information is needed so that more

people can have the option of socioeconomic success. Ethnic/racial identity factors represent one area of information that may be helpful in this regard.

The continuing Black pride movement among Black Americans plays a significant role in many aspects of a Black person's life. The extent that Black people identify with either their own culture or the dominant White culture may affect their interactions with each group. These resulting interactions may consequently affect their educational and occupational choices and opportunities, thereby affecting their socioeconomic status.

Thus, it is reasonable to believe that there may be a relationship between the socioeconomic status of Black people and ethnic/racial identity factors. Recent literature has emphasized changes in racial identity related to cultural awareness and Black consciousness (e.g., Cross, 1980); and the theory of racial identity may be extended to include biculturalism (Rashid, 1981), or the ability to interact with both cultures, in order to increase opportunities for socioeconomic mobility. A third identity issue may be self-esteem, or the overall positive or negative attitude one has toward oneself (Rosenberg, 1972). Self-esteem refers to personal



identity as distinguished from racial identity or reference group orientation (Cross, 1985).

### Statement of the Problem

The problem to be addressed in this study is that the relationship of ethnic/racial identity factors to socioeconomic status among Black Americans is unknown. Specifically, it is not known whether the stage of racial identity is significantly related to socioeconomic status, and it is unknown whether the degree of biculturalism plays a large role, or if self-esteem is a factor. And finally it is not known if the relationship of these variables differs for males and females.

### Rationale

More information is needed regarding the relationship between socioeconomic status and other variables because there has been an increase in poverty rates at the same time that Black achievement has grown.

Conditions and quality of life for Black Americans may actually be worsening rather than improving (Oliver & Glick, 1982; Swinton, 1987), and concern has been expressed about the widening gap between rich and poor (Dewart, 1987). Information about those Black Americans who have been able to succeed may be useful to both counselors and teachers working with Black youth who are trying to achieve. The identity factors of racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem may be relevant factors in view of the changes that have taken place since the civil rights movement.

Smith (1985) viewed identity issues with such importance that she formulated a theory indicating "that the meaning of any event lies within the three levels of identity of each person . . . (1) the individual or idiosyncratic level, . . . ; (2) the group level of identity, which consists of group-shared aspects of one's identity, for example, one's ethnic, cultural, or professional identity; and (3) the panhuman level, which focuses on universally shared aspects of one's identity . . ." (Smith, 1985, pp. 560-561).

Decisions regarding identity factors are an integral part of growing up, especially in adolescence and early adulthood; and choices regarding education and

occupation occur as part of the process of identity resolution. For Black youth, the duality of being both Black and American "is at the heart of the identity struggle. . ." (White, 1984, p. 96), and decisions regarding these two sets of values may affect later development. "Complete denial of either frame of reference will restrict choices in personal growth, interpersonal relationships, and economic opportunities" (White, 1984, p. 97).

The identity factors of racial identity and biculturalism were chosen for study because these concepts are so important to the resolution of identity conflicts in Black Americans which can in turn affect choices of education and occupation. Self-esteem was chosen because of its importance as a global estimate of how a person feels about his or her personal identity, and because it may also relate to choices regarding education and occupation.

Self-esteem was cited as one of the qualities of a successful person in the general population (Lecker, 1986, p. 5); and Jacques and Chason (1977) found self-esteem to be related to achieved occupational status. Cultural identity may also be interrelated in some way, and Bandura (1986) considered cultural values

to be important to self-esteem: "Self-esteem pertains to the evaluation of self-worth, which depends on how the culture values the attributes one possesses and how well one's behavior matches personal standards of worthiness" (Bandura, 1986, p. 410).

Racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem, therefore, may be important identity variables which relate significantly to socioeconomic success. Information in this area may be useful to the counseling process of helping Black youth to reach their achievement goals. Teachers may also be able to utilize this information to encourage and instruct students who are striving to succeed.

Another rationale for this study is that there is a dearth of information about the relatively new recognition that neither the cultural deficit model nor the cultural difference model adequately explains the cultural identity position of Blacks in the United States. The cultural deficit model refers to comparisons of Blacks to Whites which assume the White culture to be normal and any differences to be a result of deficiencies in the Black culture. The cultural difference model refers to the recognition that Black culture is different from White culture, and that characteristics are to be

understood within the context of Black culture rather than as similar or different from the majority culture. As a third model, Valentine (1971) proposed "a bicultural educational model, recognizing that many Blacks are simultaneously committed to both Black culture and mainstream culture, and that the two are not mutually exclusive as generally assumed" (Valentine, 1971, p. 137). However, most research on biculturalism has been limited to the Hispanic culture (Jenkins, 1985).

Since Black Americans live in a minority culture that is encompassed by a majority culture containing most of the economic opportunities, it would be expected that the people most likely to succeed would be those who are most able to interact comfortably in both worlds and who are most comfortable with their own cultural and personal identities. The primary expectation is that a balance is needed, rather than extreme or exclusive identification with either culture so that more choices would be available in terms of "personal growth, interpersonal relationships, and economic opportunities" (White, 1984, p. 97). First, it would be expected that the most successful people would be those who are in stages 4 and 5 of Cross's racial identity model because they are comfortable with themselves as Black people and

can function effectively in both cultures. Second, a high degree of biculturalism would also be expected to predict greater success because of one's degree of comfort regarding knowledge of "two distinct behavioral repertoires for utilization in the minority and majority societies" (de Anda, 1984, p. 102). Third, people who are comfortable with their own racial identity and can interact effectively in both cultures would be expected to have a good sense of self and therefore a high degree of self-esteem. Evidence therefore points to a possible relationship between these three identity factors and socioeconomic status.

There is also a need for more knowledge in the area of counseling minorities. For counselors to work effectively with Black clients, they need to understand the cultural differences that may exist (Parker, 1988; Sue, 1981). Issues surrounding cultural identity may be especially problematic in view of the rapidly changing environment since the civil rights movement first began. Not only have laws been enacted to provide opportunities where previously there had been more overt color boundaries, but an upsurge of Black consciousness has also helped to raise the level of expectations for success. More knowledge is needed to understand how

these changes are affecting Black people, especially regarding their choices of education and occupation. The present research is designed to add to this body of knowledge.

Educators also need more knowledge regarding ethnic/cultural identity factors. Because of the major role that teachers play in the lives of children, it is important that they have an understanding of any factors that might relate significantly to the future success of students.

Additional knowledge is also needed to understand the social mobility potential for this ethnic minority group. Black Americans in general have not experienced success proportionate to their White counterparts. An essential difference has been the unique history of Black Americans and the resultant discrimination which has blocked the opportunity structure made available to the White population (Willie, 1970). Whereas upwardly mobile White people have only had to deal with a low socioeconomic status when attempting to succeed, Blacks have had to cope with "double stratification" (Ogbul, cited in Spencer, Kim, & Marshall, 1987), that is, the negative effects of membership in both a caste-like

system and a low socioeconomic status (Spencer, Kim, & Marshall, 1987, p. 86).

Many Black people continue to struggle with lower socioeconomic conditions. The effects of poverty are destructive in many ways and include developmental disruptions as well as frustrated motivation (Ronde, 1985). Systemic changes are acknowledged to be of primary importance, but it is also important that counselors and teachers have as much information as possible to help Black clients adjust to the present reality of a changing opportunity structure. For example, identity-related problems for some Black clients may result from "trying to combine what they perceive as the best of the two worlds. They want to make it in the mainstream, yet at the same time they want to retain the openness, genuineness, concern for others, and vitality they have internalized growing up in the Black community" (White, 1984, p. 159).

Most studies thus far have focused on the negative effects and results of being Black, using the White culture as a comparative norm. This study recognizes that Black culture is both distinct from, and related to, the White culture in a position called biculturalism. Within-group differences are the focus, rather than comparisons using Whites as the norm.



### Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study was to explore the relationship of ethnic/racial identity factors to within-group differences in socioeconomic status levels of Black Americans. There was also an attempt to determine if these relationships vary according to gender. The identity factors selected for this study were the four components of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem. The primary components of socioeconomic status were education and occupation levels.

### Research Questions

In order to add to the knowledge of factors affecting the socioeconomic status of Black Americans, the relationship of ethnic/racial identity variables was examined. Specifically, answers were sought for the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter,

immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes for males?

2. What is the relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes for females?

3. What is the relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for males?

4. What is the relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for females?

5. What is the relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for males?

6. What is the relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for females?

7. What is the relationship between biculturalism and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes?

8. What is the relationship between self-esteem and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes?

9. What is the relationship between biculturalism and self-esteem?

### Theoretical Framework

Traditional research has emphasized comparison of Blacks with Whites, and as a result Blacks have been categorized by many as deficient, either genetically or culturally (Sue, 1981). However, evidence for a separate culture can be seen in the "behavior, attitudes, feelings, life styles, and expressive patterns of Black Americans" (White, 1984, p. 2), so that a culturally different model may be more appropriate. In this way, alternative lifestyles can be recognized, as well as "the advantages of being bicultural (capable of functioning in two different cultural environments), and the value of differences" (Sue, 1981, p. 16).

The theoretical framework for this study assumes that the well-adjusted person does not reject his or her own culture (Szapocznik, Santisteban, Kurtines, Peres-Vidal, & Hervis, 1984) but rather learns to live in both worlds when that is their total cultural context. The total cultural context of the United States is increasingly multicultural, especially in large urban areas. The melting pot theory of acculturation no longer appears valid, because large populations of ethnic

minorities have "remained differentiated from the mainstream culture, in many cases over a number of generations" (de Anda, 1984, p. 101).

The theoretical framework chosen for this study includes a combination of two theoretical constructs: a) racial identity and b) biculturalism. In the racial identity development model (Cross, 1971), a person's racial identity may develop through five stages, ranging from (1) a pre-encounter stage where Whites are viewed as superior, through (2) an encounter experience which brings about a reinterpretation of values, through (3) a stage of immersion in Blackness and rejection of Whiteness, through (4) internalization of Blackness and less hostility to Whiteness, to (5) the final stage where a commitment is made to help other Black people (Cross, 1971).

In the second theoretical construct, biculturalism, "the minority individual learns two distinct behavioral repertoires for utilization in the minority and majority societies" (de Anda, 1984, p. 102). A higher degree of biculturalism would be expected to predict a higher degree of success in the dominant culture. Six factors have been identified that

affect the degree to which a member of an ethnic minority group can or is likely to become bicultural:

1. The degree of overlap or commonality between the two cultures with regard to norms, values, beliefs, perceptions, and the like.
2. The availability of cultural translators, mediators, and models.
3. The amount and type (positive or negative) of corrective feedback provided by each culture regarding attempts to produce normative behaviors.
4. The conceptual style and problem-solving approach of the minority individual and their mesh with the prevalent or valued styles of the majority culture.
5. The individual's degree of bilingualism.
6. The degree of dissimilarity in physical appearance from the majority culture, such as skin color, facial features, and so forth. (de Anda, 1984, p. 102)

The theoretical construct of biculturalism combines well with Cross's model in order to broaden the concept of identification with two cultures. Biculturalism indicates that within-group variations occur in the degree that Black people identify with either culture. Black people live in a bicultural society, and as such need to be able to interact in both environments. In fact, people who live in a bicultural context and either overacculturate or underacculturate may not have the "flexibility to cope with their entire cultural milieu" (Szapocznik et al., 1984, p. 325).

The basic theoretical assumption, then, is that Black people live in a distinct, but minority, culture which has its own set of norms. Their total cultural context, however, is bicultural because they also live within the dominant White society which also has distinct, and sometimes conflicting, norms. It is expected that the degree of skill a person attains in adapting to each culture as appropriate will have an impact on the resulting socioeconomic status.

### Definitions

The following definitions are presented to help facilitate the understanding of this dissertation:

Acculturation is the process of accommodating to the norms of a different culture.

Biculturalism is the ability to work, go to school, and socially interact with people in two different cultures at the same time. The operational definition of biculturalism refers to the scores obtained on the Biculturalism Experience Inventory.

Black people are people with Afro-American ancestry who were born in the United States, unless otherwise noted.

Cultural identity refers to one's view of himself or herself in relationship to one's culture; for Black Americans, it would include one's racial identity and one's degree of biculturalism, as opposed to personal identity which is not culture bound.

Double identity refers to the identification of Black Americans as both Black and American.

Encounter component of racial identity refers to the abandonment of White cultural views in reaction to an event which causes a person to question those views. The operational definition of the encounter component refers to the scores obtained on the encounter subscale of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

Horizontal mobility refers to movement from one socioeconomic class in one culture to the same socioeconomic class in another culture.

Identity refers to the image one has of his or her sense of self, an inner picture of one's sense of "this is who I am."

Immersion/Emersion component of racial identity refers "to the general orientation that everything of value must be black or relevant to blackness . . ." (Parham & Helms, 1985, p. 432). The operational definition of the immersion/emersion component refers to

the scores obtained on the immersion/emersion subscale of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

Internalization component of racial identity refers to a feeling of inner security about Blackness because one has incorporated the attitudes of the immersion/emersion experience. "Ideological flexibility and a general decline in strong antiwhite feelings also typify the internalization stage" (Parham & Helms, 1985, p. 432). The operational definition of the internalization component refers to the scores obtained on the internalization subscale of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

Nigrescence is the process of learning to identify with the Black culture, "the process of becoming Black" (Cross, 1980, p. 82).

Overwhelming odds refers to the fact that a history of discrimination has left many Blacks with a low probability of being able to achieve higher levels of education and occupational status.

Pre-encounter component of racial identity refers to the stage of racial identity that emphasizes the dominant White cultural frame of reference. The operational definition of the pre-encounter component



refers to the scores obtained on the pre-encounter subscale of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

Racial identity "refers to a person's beliefs or attitudes about his or her own race" as contrasted with one's actual membership in a particular racial group (Parham & Helms, 1981, p. 251). The operational definition refers to scores obtained on the Racial Identity Attitude Scale. The subscales of this instrument are Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization.

Reference group orientation refers to the use of race or color as a primary part of the identity variable as opposed to personal identity which does not include race or color as part of the identity variable.

Self-esteem is a positive or negative attitude about one's self; it is a global estimation of one's sense of self-worth as opposed to specific aspects of it (Rosenberg, 1972). The operational definition of self-esteem refers to scores obtained on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.

Socioeconomic status refers to one's comparative standing in society, especially prestige factors measured by level of education and level of occupation. The operational definition of socioeconomic status refers to

the combined scores obtained on the education and occupational scales of Hollingshead's (1975) Four Factor Index of Social Status.

Success refers to achievement of relatively high levels of education and occupation; it is a relative term in comparison to others, rather than a specifically defined concept.

System refers to the societal structure in the dominant culture. This especially includes such things as laws and rules which need to be changed in order to promote equality.

Upward mobility refers to movement from one socioeconomic class to a higher status level "and must be distinguished from mere improvement of standing within the same class" (Turner, 1964, p. 8).

Vertical mobility is used interchangeably with upward mobility, as previously defined.

White people are people of Caucasian ancestry.

World View refers to a frame of reference. "A psychological perspective, frame of reference, world view, or cultural ethos is a set of assumptions, beliefs, values, ideas, and behaviors shared by a particular group of people that are transmitted from one generation to the next" (White, 1984, p. 2).

### Format

Organization of this dissertation includes a review of related literature in Chapter Two and research methodology in Chapter Three. Results of the study are reported in Chapter Four, and Chapter Five contains the discussion. A bibliography and appendices are also included.

## CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to explore some of the ethnic/racial identity variables which may be related to socioeconomic status for Black Americans. The selected variables of interest were racial identity, biculturalism, self-esteem, and socioeconomic status as measured by education and occupation levels. Data were analyzed separately for males and females in order to note any gender differences.

Related literature will be reviewed first on socioeconomic status, with subheadings of the present status of Black Americans, social mobility, and gender differences. Then the theoretical framework will be presented, along with the selected identity factors of racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem. A summary will be presented at the end of the chapter.

### Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status refers to one's position in the social hierarchy of society, and was previously referred to as social class. It can be defined in

various ways, but the main factors seem to be occupation and education levels (Hollingshead, 1957). In a classic study (Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958), five social classes were ascertained, and most of the people interviewed were able to place themselves in approximately the same social position as the authors placed them--though there was a tendency to slant this position toward the middle, with upper classes identifying themselves as upper middle rather than upper and with a hesitancy (generally) for people to identify as lower class.

In a more recent publication, Hollingshead (1975) identified four factors as primary indicators of status: (1) education, (2) occupation, (3) sex, and (4) marital status. Education level is believed to reflect acquisition of knowledge and cultural tastes and is related to entry into higher levels of occupation. Occupation level is believed to indicate possession of skill and power in performing the maintenance functions in society. The sex of an individual may affect the role one plays in those maintenance functions, and marital status defines one's relationship in the family system and may affect the degree of employment.

The factors of sex and marital status were added to Hollingshead's original Two Factor Index of Social Position of 1957 which was based on information about the head of the household. The new index continues to consider education and occupation to be primary factors, but recognizes the differential status of women. Status scores are computed by multiplying the occupational score by a weight of five and the educational score by a weight of three and adding the results. The factor of occupation is thereby attributed relatively more importance than the factor of education. In families where both spouses are employed outside the home, the status scores are calculated for each, then summed and divided by two. The result is that the family score may be higher or lower than an individual's score.

In the past, socioeconomic status may have been different for the Black population than for the majority population in the United States. For example, Glenn (1962) found evidence that education has been rated more highly than occupation by this group.

Carter and Helms (1988) used a combination of variables to measure the socioeconomic status of Black students in one of their studies. Their selections were based on a study by Stricker (cited in Carter & Helms,

1988, p. 26) which indicated that the socioeconomic status of Blacks may not be accurately reflected in traditional assessment measures. Including variables from the Stricker study that could be self-reported, they chose the following: a checklist of perceived social class (lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, and upper class) and information about their parents regarding education, occupation, and numbers of years at that occupation.

For purposes of this study, only the variables of education and occupation level of the subjects were used to measure socioeconomic status. These are the most consistent variables used by others and can be easily obtained by self-report. This study uses the education and occupation factors from Hollingshead's (1975) Four Factor Index of Socioeconomic Status. In this way, individual achievement is measured rather than family economic status. Indirectly these factors also account for a close approximation of the earned income portion of socioeconomic status. Hollingshead (1975) reported a linkage between earned income and the occupational scores, with "a distinct gradient from the highest to the lowest scored occupations" (Hollingshead, 1975, p. 21) with the exception that earned income for skilled

occupations (with a score of 4) was greater than earned income for the clerical and sales groups (with a score of 5). This variation was attributed to the greater prestige factor of the white-collar categories compared to the blue-collar occupations.

Because of their unique history, Black Americans have only recently been able to participate fully in the socioeconomic status structure of the majority culture in the United States. Following will be a review of the literature on the present status of Black Americans, social mobility, and gender differences that have been documented.

### Present Status of Black Americans

In 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr. (cited in Franklin & Starr, 1967, pp. 143-147) expressed a dream which seemed impossible at the time. He dreamed that one day Black Americans would be accorded the same freedom that other American citizens were given and that skin color would no longer be a factor that kept people apart.



Much has changed since that dream. Although the civil rights movement of the 1960s has not been able to accomplish the total equality imagined by Dr. King, mainstream America has become more open to Black Americans than ever before (Jackson, 1986). At the present time,

about 300 cities, including many of the nation's biggest, have black mayors. The Rev. Jesse Jackson is [was] a serious presidential candidate. Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta was the United States representative to the United Nations under President Carter. Rep. William H. Gray III, D-Pa., is chairman of the important Budget Committee. ("Underclass alienated," 1988, p. 4A)

However, Collins (1983) contended that Black middle-class growth has been largely dependent on race-regulated systems, and therefore opportunities are linked to the political climate. For example, Blacks tend to be employed in "institutions dependent on federal government subsidy and concentrated in functions created to serve the black consumer and community" (Collins, 1983, p. 379).

Still, the new laws have helped to provide opportunities for Black people where there had previously been overt color boundaries, and an upsurge of Black

awareness has helped to raise the level of consciousness of Black people and has helped to overcome some of the intrapsychic or internalized barriers to success.

Articles frequently appear in newspapers and magazines depicting Black success stories, such as the reality of a "thriving black middle class" (Brashler, 1978) and the story of Willie Gary, wealthy Black attorney in Florida who has not lost a case in seven years (Leifermann, 1988).

The achievement of successful Black Americans is applauded, and it gives hope to those who would like to do the same (Cohen, 1988). However, disproportionate to White Americans, Black Americans as a group continue to struggle against overwhelming odds.

In 1985, 33 million people in the United States were considered poor by the Census Bureau, 4 million more than were reported in 1980. "More than one of every five American children are poor; for blacks, about half are poor. The rise in poverty has been accompanied by a widening gap between rich and poor" (Dewart, 1987, p. 11).

College degrees for Blacks (8.8%) numbered less than half that of the total population (17.7%) for 1982, and unemployment figures showed that Black people were

almost twice as likely to be out of a job (18.9% Black compared to 9.7% total). Median income for Blacks was \$13,267 in 1982 compared to \$22,388 for the total population (Bureau of the Census, 1984.)

In addition, it should be noted that the conditions and quality of life for most Black Americans are worsening rather than improving. Swinton (1987) concluded, "Over the last few years we have retrogressed. There is no region for which racial parity has been achieved. In many parts of the country, racial inequality has increased sharply." (Swinton, 1987, p. 72). In fact, Oliver and Glick (1982) estimated that ". . . given present trends in mobility, another 200 years of striving with the same commitment and determination that blacks showed in the 1960's will be necessary to achieve occupational equality between the races" (Oliver & Glick, 1982, p. 520).

Looking ahead to the year 2000, McDavis (1977) did not expect appreciable changes in the status of college students, although college enrollment for minority students was expected to increase. He projected that minority students would continue to "feel alienated and isolated as they experience the cultural shock of this environment" (McDavis, 1977, p. 5), and financial

assistance will still be needed since "most minority family incomes will continue to be below the national average" (McDavis, 1977, p. 7).

Explanations for continuing poverty in the Black culture range from a "culture of the poor" hypothesis which indicates that "poverty is intergenerationally transmitted due to deficiencies in the person, family, and clan" to a focus on "deficiencies in social systems and in the community at large" (Willie, 1970, pp. 322-323).

### Social Mobility

Lipset and Bendix (1959) hypothesized that all persons of lower status desire to rise to a higher status and that both individuals and groups will try to do so whenever they are given a chance. Further, they found data to support the hypothesis that occupational structure determines the mobility patterns in Western industrialized societies (Lipset & Bendix, 1959, p. 73).

Black people, however, have been limited in the amount of progress that could be expected "short of radical change" (Hare, 1987, p. 110). The effects of race (for men over 30) have been found to influence

occupational status consistently, no matter what other characteristics were controlled (Jencks, 1979, p. 215). The barriers to social mobility are even more salient considering the finding that "the most important single measured background characteristic affecting a son's occupational status is his father's occupational status" (Jencks, 1979, p. 214).

In terms of social status, education has been found in the past to be more important to Blacks than Whites, with occupation and income ranking second and third (Glenn, 1962). This can be accounted for by the fact that there was more differentiation in education than occupation due to limited occupational opportunities and the fact that education had a greater impact on occupation at some levels for Blacks than it did for Whites (Glenn, 1962). Relatedly, Isaacs (1984) found the individual's educational level to be the major factor influencing mobility for Black males, and that the father's education level had a negative impact.

In 1970, Crain found that Blacks had better jobs and higher incomes for at least the next thirty years if they had attended integrated public schools. The effect was attributed to increased contact with and trust in Whites which would help overcome one of the barriers to

equal opportunity, that of information about job opportunities.

Although social mobility has been limited by blocks to the opportunity structure, Hill (1971) found the existence of an achievement orientation in many low-income Black families, and there is now evidence of a growing Black middle class (Brashler, 1978). However, social mobility has been difficult for Blacks born in poverty in the United States because they have had to cross two stratification boundaries in order to enter the status of socioeconomic success in the dominant culture: (1) lower socioeconomic status and (2) racial stratification. Lower socioeconomic status impairs access to education and occupation opportunities, and racial stratification impairs entry via pressures and obstacles which result in a job ceiling for many Blacks. Psychological consequences such as negative images, attitudes, and beliefs may also be contained in the caste-like status of American Blacks (Spencer, Kim, & Marshall, 1987).

### Gender Differences

Hollingshead (1975) pointed out the role that sex plays in socioeconomic status, not only from the viewpoint of reduced wages for the same occupational level but also in the occupational choices that women tend to make. For the Black population, gender differences may also exist. Historically, it appears that Black families have been more likely to stress education for females than for males. However, before emancipation, free Black males received more formal education than females. Later, according to Jackson (1973), "The first Black recipients of college and professional degrees were males. No Black female received a Ph.D. until 1921, forty-five years after Yale University had awarded a Ph.D. to a Black male, a first in American education . . ." (Jackson, 1973, p. 215).

At the same time that females averaged a greater median level of education, Black males were more likely to receive doctoral and professional education. Jackson (1973) attributed the preferences for more education for females (when it did exist) to the fact that Black men had more occupational options. For Black women, the

options were primarily either public school teacher or domestic employee, whereas Black men had access to a wide range of occupations at high income levels but which did not require such stringent educational backgrounds.

In overall summary, however, Jackson (1973) did not find Black parents to exercise preferences for educating their children. What was found was a tendency to channel Black females into conventional female occupations. Economically, sex differences were clear; "in 1969 Black females earned 43.8 percent as much as did Black males . . ." (Jackson, 1973, p. 245).

According to Murray and Mednick (1977), "Black women have often been depicted as aggressive, independent, and domineering individuals who achieve at the expense of black men. Moreover, black women are alleged to enjoy greater advantages in the employment market than black men and white women" (p. 247-248). Their review of the literature, however, found no "specific patterns regarding the determinants of achievement orientation in black women" (Murray & Mednick, 1977, p. 255).

Smith (1982) reviewed the literature on Black female adolescents and found the following, some based on limited data: 1) Few studies show differential socialization within families for the sexes regarding



achievement and aspirations; 2) in high school, Black females tend to have better academic achievement than Black males; 3) White females have higher academic achievement than Black females during high school; 4) high school educational attainment is lower than White females and males but higher than Black males; 5) during high school, they have higher aspirations for education and career than Black males and White females; 6) in college, education and occupation aspirations declined.

Grevious (1985) also found that aspirations for Black males were significantly more prestigious. Subjects were 259 juniors and seniors (127 males and 132 females) from several colleges in the New York metropolitan area. Ages of 20 through 23 were selected so that the sample would be limited to those who had recently finished high school. Results of a survey showed that aspirations for Black males were significantly more prestigious.

There were also sex differences in aspirations for the same general fields such that women tended to choose traditional specialties. For example, in the field of medicine, seven of the eight females selected pediatrics and psychiatry, whereas males chose a more extensive range. In law, family and criminal law was chosen by

females, while males chose corporate law as well. In teaching, nursery, elementary, or secondary school teaching was chosen by a majority of females compared to the male choices of secondary and college level and non-elementary.

Despite the fact that a larger percentage of women are considering careers in medicine and law and fewer women are choosing teaching and social work, "many women aspired to careers that are both traditional for women and not among the most prestigious fields" (Grevious, 1985, p. 42).

In another study, females in a sample of high school seniors were found to aspire to traditional female occupations. This was from a sample of 1369 Black males and 1750 Black females, where both were found to have high aspirations for education (Dawkins, 1981).

Lee (1985) studied ethnic and gender differences of occupational choice among rural adolescents. Subjects were 520 tenth-grade students from rural county school systems (92 Black males, 87 White males, 70 Native American males, 114 Black females, 82 White females, and 75 Native American females). Information was collected from a student data form.

Marked gender differences were found; females, regardless of ethnic group, aspired to and expected to attain high level occupations more frequently than did males; the majority of males, regardless of ethnic group, aspired to and expected to attain intermediate levels of occupation. Females, regardless of race, had expectations lower than aspirations more frequently than did males, regardless of ethnic group.

Allen (1985) looked at academic achievement in Black men and women undergraduate students attending predominantly white, state-supported universities. Of 327 student subjects, 65% were female. Information was obtained via a mailed questionnaire regarding family backgrounds, attitudes, campus experiences, aspirations, academic performance levels, and perceptions of university context. Seventy percent of the total planned to pursue advanced degrees; no sex differences were found for college grade point averages, but females had higher high school grade point averages, indicating a drop; males were less religious and more moderate in racial ideology; males had higher self-confidence and achievement drive; occupational goals were higher among students reporting great social involvement; and low achievers were as likely as high achievers to anticipate high status positions.

Spaights, Kenner, and Dixon (1986) found a correlation between self-concept scores and grade point average for Black female college students but not Black male college students.

Lee (1984) studied 375 rural tenth grade students, 92 Black males, 87 White males, 114 Black females, and 82 White females. A questionnaire was used to collect data and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale was administered. Both a sex effect and a race effect were found to predict occupational aspirations and occupational expectations for these subjects. White students were more influenced by self-concept on the aspirations and expectations than Black students. Higher socioeconomic status was negatively correlated with occupational expectations for Blacks, which was unexpected.

Gender differences need to be investigated further, as well as other factors which may be related to socioeconomic status levels. Now that the full range of socioeconomic status levels is more open to Blacks than ever before, it is important to look at some of the factors that may be related to success in the dominant culture. A theoretical framework which includes both cultures may be helpful in this regard.

### Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework chosen for this study is the combination of the constructs of racial identity and biculturalism. Racial identity within the Black culture refers to the degree that a person views himself or herself as Black. This concept is exemplified by the Cross model of psychological nigrescence (Cross, 1971). Biculturalism refers to the degree that a person simultaneously views himself or herself as an American citizen, able to function in mainstream society. These two theoretical constructs will be discussed separately, along with the global identity concept of self-esteem.

#### Racial identity

Racial identity refers to the subject's view of himself or herself as inside the boundaries of a particular group, in this case the Black culture. Parham and Helms (1981) differentiated between racial identity and racial self-designation: "Racial identity refers to a person's beliefs or attitudes about his or her own

race, whereas racial self-designation refers to one's racial group membership" (Parham & Helms, 1981, p. 251).

Cross (1971) formulated a developmental model for racial identity which he also called a "model for self-actualization under conditions of oppression" (Cross, 1971, p. 25). Five developmental stages were delineated:

Stage One: Pre-encounter. In this stage, the world is seen as being "nonblack, antiBlack, or the opposite of Black" (Cross, 1971, p. 15). Whites are viewed as intellectually superior. The individual is emphasized, and "the advancement of the race is gauged by how far 'I' progress in the system." People in this stage prefer to be called "Negro, civilized, colored, human being, or American citizen" (Cross, 1971, p. 16).

Stage Two: Encounter. Stage Two is divided into two steps: (1) an encounter experience which causes a person to question current views, for example, the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., and (2) reinterpretation of the world as a result of the encounter experience. In this stage, Black is considered beautiful, and Black rage and guilt are present.

Stage Three: Immersion-Emersion. In this stage, the self is immersed in the world of Blackness. The word Negro is dropped and becomes Afro-American, Black, Black-American or African. Rhetoric shifts from individualism to mutualism or collectivism. "The first half of the third stage is immersion into Blackness; the second is emergence from the dead-end, either/or racist, oversimplified aspects of the immersion experience" (Cross, 1971, p. 20). During the second half of this stage, "rage is still evident, however, but guilt sensations are being replaced by feelings of pride" (Cross, 1971, p. 20).

Stage Four: Internalization. In this stage, there are three options: (1) Disappointment and Rejection--where frustrated expectations may lead to a nihilistic, hopeless point of view; (2) Continuation and Fixation at Stage Three--including overwhelming hatred of Whites; (3) Internalization--incorporation of immersion/emersion into the self-concept where the person is receptive to plans of action but has made no commitment; there is a feeling of inner security and satisfaction; the world view is still American.

Stage Five: Internalization-Commitment. The primary difference between Stage Four and Stage Five has

to do with commitment to a plan for helping the masses of Black people rather than just a few.

The person in the Fifth Stage begins to "live" the new self-image and eventually becomes the new identity:

The shift is from concern about how your friends see you (Weusi Anxiety) to confidence in one's personal standards of Blackness; from uncontrolled rage toward white people to controlled, felt and conscious anger toward oppressive and racist institutions; from symbolic rhetoric to quiet, dedicated, long-term commitment; from unrealistic urgency to a sense of destiny; from anxious, insecure, rigid, inferiority feelings to Black pride, self-love and a deep sense of Black communalism. . . . (Cross, 1971, p. 23)

The above stages were originally thought to be a model for middle-class Blacks, but the model appears to cross class lines as exemplified in the life of Malcolm X who did not finish high school, yet went through a conversion experience (Cross, 1980, p. 97).

The Cross developmental model has been used in several research designs, and Parham and Helms (1981) developed the Racial Identity Attitude Scale to measure the first four stages. The Fifth Stage, Internalization-Commitment, is not measured.

It is important to note that "stages of racial identity are hypothetical constructs that are potentially inferred from attitudinal, behavioral, or emotional correlates" (Helms, 1989, p. 234). Each stage is



bimodal, that is, each stage consists of one set of traits as the stage is entered and another set of traits as the stage is exited, but the bimodal nature of the stage is not assessed. For example, Pre-encounter can be either active or passive. Encounter can reflect a "conscious awareness of an identity-altering event (or events) as well as those feelings, beliefs, and behaviors that occur in response to such awareness" (Helms, 1989, p. 237). Immersion/Emersion may reflect either "a reactive psychological withdrawal into Blackness" or "a proactive positive acceptance of Blackness" (Helms, 1989, p. 237). And "Internalization consists of a racially transcendent personal consciousness and then of racially transcendent behavioral patterns" (Helms, 1989, p. 237). (Stage 5 of Cross's model, Internalization-Commitment, is included as part of Internalization attitudes on the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale).

Helms (1989) indicated that "current measures seem to assess active Pre-encounter but not passive, Encounter reaction but not experience, Immersion but not Emersion, and Internalization but not Internalization Commitment" (Helms, 1989, p. 238).

It is also important to note that "racial identity development is a decidedly complex process" (Helms, 1989,

p. 250). A recommendation was made for "complex thinking about the matter" and a communication of those ideas (Helms, 1989, p. 250). Helms (1989) also recommended continued development of strategies for assessing racial identity (Helms, 1989, p. 248).

In one study, Parham and Helms (1985) examined the relationship between racial identity attitudes and self-esteem. Subjects were from four predominantly White universities and consisted of 166 Black college students: 65 men and 101 women, freshman through senior classes. The Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the Self-Regard subscale of the Personal Orientation Inventory were administered. Results showed "that pre-encounter and immersion attitudes tend to be associated with low self-esteem. Encounter attitudes were associated with positive self-esteem, and, although not significantly related, internalization attitudes were positively associated with self-esteem" (Parham & Helms, 1985, p. 145).

Although the percentage of variance explained by the racial identity attitudes of students was less than substantial, the results are important because they underscore the need to recognize that racial attitudes and level of self-esteem among Black students are not homogeneous. (Parham & Helms, 1985, p. 146)

The relationship of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status was studied by Carter and Helms (1988) who found no significant relationship between these two variables. "Racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status appear to represent separate constructs" (Carter & Helms, 1988, p. 29).

A second model of psychological nigrescence was formulated in 1971 by Charles W. Thomas, and will be mentioned here only for completion. Cross (1980) reviewed the literature on the Thomas and Cross models and found them to be less similar than would be expected. Both contain five stages, with the fifth stages of each model being similar. However, the Thomas model begins at a point where change has already begun, whereas the Cross model begins with Pre-encounter, a point before change begins. The Thomas concept of Negromachy corresponds to the Cross concept of Pre-encounter stage, and both see the need to temporarily withdraw into Blackness. However, the withdrawal is covered in the first four stages of the Thomas model but only in the Immersion-Emersion stage of the Cross model. Cross (1980) suggested that the Thomas model is more of a "frame of reference" than an identified model.

Cross (1985) differentiated personal identity from group identity or reference group orientation. In a review of 161 studies regarding Black identity, he found Blacks to have a high degree of personal worth, and he found that many of the studies concluding otherwise were actually measuring reference group orientation instead of self-esteem.

Reference group orientation was found to be multifaceted such that "black and white anchor points may determine behavior depending upon the situation being confronted. The Black Movement probably increased the number of black anchor points in a person's worldview" (Cross, 1985, p. 170).

A strong Black identity "gives us considerable insight into the person's value system, political posture, and cultural stance," even though it does not tell us about personal identity (Cross, 1985, p. 170).

### Biculturalism

The second theoretical construct which is being used in this framework is biculturalism. The theory of biculturalism has been recommended as a better

alternative than either the cultural-deficit model which views Black people as inferior or the cultural-difference model which views Blacks as more homogenous than they really are. For example, one study of a single urban community found "evidence of some fourteen different Afro-American subgroups with more or less distinct cultures, as well as nine other non-Afro-ethnic subgroups" (Valentine, 1971, p. 140). Rather than viewing Black culture as a "competitive alternative" to mainstream culture, biculturalism is a model which "is the essence of the divided identity symbolized by the very name Afro-American and celebrated, dramatized, and lamented by every major Black American artist and scholar from Du Bois and White through Ellison and Baldwin to Fanon and Cleaver" (Valentine, 1971, p. 142).

Socialization in both cultures begins at an early age, with ethnic enculturation provided primarily by the family and primary groups, and with dominant group enculturation provided primarily "by mainstream institutions, including most of the content of the mass media, most products and advertising for mass marketing, the entire experience of public schooling, constant exposure to national fashions, holidays, and heroes" (Valentine, 1971, p. 143). However, there is no sharp

division in these socialization practices, as family members may also provide much exposure to "mainstream themes, values, and role models" (Valentine, 1971, p. 144).

Vontress (1988) identified four groups "in terms of allegiance to the national culture: (a) monoculturally White Blacks, who identify almost exclusively with Whites; (b) equi-cultural Blacks, who manifest an even split in regard to Black-White racial identification; (c) bicultural Blacks, who lean more heavily either toward the Black or the White group than toward the other; and (d) monoculturally Black Blacks, who identify almost exclusively with members of their own race and its culture" (Vontress, 1988, p. 80).

Although Vontress differentiated "equi-cultural" from "bicultural," the term "bicultural" as used here denotes the ability to function within both cultures, regardless of primary choice of racial identification, and would therefore cover both his terms. "Equi-cultural" would be assessed as a high degree of biculturalism.

Rashid (1981) defined biculturalism as "the ability to function effectively and productively within the context of America's core institutions (the school

and the workplace) while simultaneously retaining what many would consider an African ethnic identity" (Rashid, 1981, p. 58).

The process of bicultural socialization was conceptualized by de Anda (1984) as the learning of two sets of behaviors to be used in the two different cultures. Six factors were identified as affecting the degree of success in this endeavor (de Anda, 1984, p. 102):

1. "The degree of overlap or commonality between the two cultures with regard to norms, values, beliefs, perceptions, and the like." Within this factor, Black Americans would have less in common with main-stream American society than European immigrants, for example.

2. "The availability of cultural translators, mediators, and models." Translators are defined as people from the minority culture who have achieved success in the dual socialization process. They can share their own experiences and ways they have learned to behave in the dominant society without compromising minority group values. Mediators are defined as people from the dominant culture who provide information and guidance to minorities. They may be in formal

functions such as teaching or counseling or they may be informal agents such as peers or mentors. Models are defined as people from either culture who serve as examples of appropriate behavior. Models for minority group behavior would have to be from the same group, but models of dominant group behavior could be from either group.

3. "The amount and type (positive or negative) of corrective feedback provided by each culture regarding attempts to produce normative behaviors." Without this corrective factor, an individual might behave inappropriately while believing the behavior to be appropriate.

4. "The conceptual style and problem-solving approach of the minority individual and their mesh with the prevalent or valued styles of the majority culture." The dominant American cognitive style is analytical. Biculturalism will be affected by the degree to which the minority individual already has this skill or can learn to use this skill while interacting in the dominant group.

5. "The individual's degree of bilingualism." The intrusion of incorrect grammar and of



accents from Black English reinforces the difference between the cultures.

6. "The degree of dissimilarity in physical appearance from the majority culture, such as skin color, facial features, and so forth." Within-group differences of physical features allows some individuals more mobility than others (de Anda, 1984).

The need for counseling in the area of biculturalism is beginning to be recognized, and many are beginning to recommend it, for example, de Anda (1984) discussed above and Ziter (1987) who recommended bicultural counseling in the treatment of Black alcoholic families.

The assessment of biculturalism has primarily been confined to the Hispanic cultures, but Jenkins (1985) modified an instrument originally constructed for use with the Chicano population. For his study regarding the social networks of young Black men, he found the following results regarding biculturalism: (1) no relationship was found between biculturalism and whether the Black men in his study socialized with Whites; (2) a positive correlation was found between biculturalism and perceived helpfulness of Whites; and (3) no relationship

was found between biculturalism and percentage of reciprocal relationships with Whites.

Some of the Hispanic literature may be helpful to further elucidate this concept. Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez (1980) found biculturalism positively related to adjustment. Since Hispanic youth living in the United States have to live in both the Hispanic and the American worlds, effective adjustment requires skills appropriate to both cultures (Szapocznik et al., 1980). Group sessions were recommended in ethnic value clarification.

Szapocznik et al. (1984) developed a method of Bicultural Effectiveness Training (BET) which focuses on "intergenerational conflicts and conduct disorders in adolescents, either provoked or exacerbated by the stress of acculturation and cross-cultural adaptation" (Szapocznik et al., 1984, p. 317). BET was seen as potentially useful for other groups as well, for example conflicts with women who work and are housewives, "or any other situations that expose people to role conflicts defined by seemingly incompatible sets of values, expectations, and demands" (Szapocznik et al., 1984, pp. 318-319).

"BET is based on the assumption that those individuals who are most successful coping with

intercultural sources of stress are those who have learned to interface effectively and strategically among various cultural environments--each with its sets of liabilities and assets, rules and regulations, responsibilities and rights, rewards and sanctions" (Szapocznik et al., 1984, p. 318).

The concept of acculturation was revised to indicate a multidimensional process. Traditionally, it was viewed as linear and unidimensional, with accommodation on the part of one culture to a host culture. The revised interpretation, however, views acculturation as not necessarily unidimensional, but rather that it could occur separately for both the host and culture of origin. In cases such as Dade County, Florida, acculturation is viewed as a "multidimensional process involving an accommodation on the part of the migrant group to a total cultural context" (Szapocznik et al., 1984, p. 323). "The first dimension consists of a linear process of accommodating to the host culture; the second dimension consists of a complex process of relinquishing or retaining the characteristics of the culture of origin" (Szapocznik et al., 1984, p. 324). Their model indicates that individuals who live in a bicultural context tend to become maladjusted if they are monocultural.

Ramirez (1983) studied biculturalism and multiculturalism within a framework called the mestizo theory of personality. "The word 'mestizo' refers to the synthesis or amalgamation of native American and European people, cultures, and life styles" (Ramirez, 1983, p. xiii). It explains the development of pluralistic identities, and it focuses on identity development. Sources of identity problems are viewed as primarily due to rapid changes taking place in the cultural environment, such as industrialization, changes in family structures, and generational differences in lifestyles, values, and world views. Termed "biculturation stress," four patterns of adjustment problems have been identified: (1) rejection of mainstream American culture, (2) rejection of Mexican and Mexican-American culture, (3) rejection of both groups, but interaction with others like themselves, and 4) rejection of both groups, and isolating themselves from other groups (Ramirez, 1983, p. 58). Mestizo theory views biculturalism/multiculturalism as both a challenge to identity development which can create stress and as an "opportunity to develop a pluralistic/transcendent identity and multicultural orientations to life" (Ramirez, 1983, p. 63).

The concept of biculturalism is similar to the concept previously referred to as marginality, but biculturalism has a more positive connotation. However, marginality has also been used to refer to positive as well as negative aspects and is included here for historical significance.

The term "marginal man" was first coined by Robert E. Park and developed by Everett Stonequist (Turner, 1964). In his introduction to Stonequist's book, Park described the marginal man as a person who learns to deal with conflicting cultures, and as a result sees that person as having "the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint. The marginal man is always relatively the more civilized human being" (Stonequist, 1961, vii-viii).

However, the term has generally referred to negative circumstances. Stonequist (1961) held the view that American Negroes had no culture since slavery took them away from their African heritage and even separated them from their families. But instead of allowing them to become a part of the American culture, efforts were made to maintain a separation so that stereotyping and a view of inferiority were manifest. Regardless of

education and status in the Black community, Blacks were excluded from the White world.

Consequences of marginality which were pointed out included self-consciousness and race-consciousness, hyper-sensitiveness, and withdrawal. On the other hand, marginality may cause a person to have more insight and reflection, and to become "an acute and able critic of the dominant group and its culture" (Stonequist, 1961, p. 155).

Clark (1974) suggested that "marginality and alienation are required for that detached, penetrating, and realistic understanding of the forces operative in a culture" (Clark, 1974, p. 24).

In contrast to some of the traditional views, Ziller (1973) looked at marginality as phenomenological in orientation. "When a group perceives an individual as marginal, alienation is suggested. When the individual perceives himself as marginal, however, a more positive meaning may evolve. For example, an individual . . . may wish to remain neutral in a conflict between opposing groups in which he may claim membership" (Ziller, 1973, p. 47).

As early as 1903, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote of intrapsychic turmoil created by a double identification:

"One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro" (Du Bois, 1903/1982, p. 45).

More recently, Spencer, Kim, and Marshall (1987) examined marginality in relation to school performance of Black children. Double stratification, psychological risk, adaptational processes, and the interface of psychological health and school performance were all considered important. Double stratification refers to Ogbu's (cited in Spencer et al., 1987) classification of minority groups as autonomous, immigrant, or castelike. American Blacks were categorized as castelike, where group members are regarded as inferior and consequently experience a job ceiling. Psychological risk factors included the negative images of Blacks which occur with play and entertainment, negative symbolism that may be internalized, and concepts of color.

Marginality continues to be an issue, especially with Blacks who have grown up in poverty and later become economically successful. Its negative consequences are evident. But the positive aspects of marginality also exist. For example, Ndule (1985) studied Black entrepreneurs in the construction industry in Chicago and found that marginality assisted them in their endeavors. Resources were used from both the Black community and the dominant society.

Another example is the acceptance of a Black journalist back into his hometown environment so that he could write a book about his friends. He found he was at ease in both groups although, in his words, "I am neither a true preppie nor a real ghetto gang-banger; I am rather the peculiar product of an even more peculiar hybrid American experience" (Monroe & Goldman, 1988, p. 29).

### Self-Esteem

The third identity factor selected for this study is self-esteem, which has been defined as a positive or negative attitude toward the self (Rosenberg, 1972, p. 90). High self-esteem reflects the feeling of being "good enough" but not necessarily superior to others:

When we speak of high self-esteem, then, we shall simply mean that the individual respects himself, considers himself worthy; he does not necessarily consider himself better than others, but he definitely does not consider himself worse; he does not feel that he is the ultimate in perfection but, on the contrary, recognizes his limitations and expects to grow and improve. (Rosenberg, 1972, p. 90)

Until recently there was an almost universal assumption that Blacks had lower self-esteem than Whites (Rosenberg, 1979, p. 149). Much of the evidence for that assumption came "from studies showing that black children prefer light-skinned dolls, pictures, or puppets to those



with brown skin . . . or that they show problems of self-esteem in psychotherapeutic sessions" (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972, p. 3).

Many survey studies, however, yielded opposite results, showing that the self-esteem of Black children was at least as high as that of White children. In order to understand these contradictions, Rosenberg (1985) pointed to the need to look at self-esteem through the eyes of the child. The children in the doll studies may have been thinking concretely about skin color rather than race.

In other words, many of the children who said they looked more like the white doll probably actually did look more like the white doll. It was the adult, fully cognizant of the widespread racism in the society, who interpreted the child's response as evidence of racial misidentification and, by implication, low self-esteem. The child, on the contrary, was responding to skin color. (Rosenberg, 1985, p. 234)

Four principles of self-concept formation have been identified: (1) social comparison processes; (2) reflected appraisals; (3) self-attribution; and (4) psychological centrality--how important an issue is to the person (Rosenberg, 1979, p. 129). Based on those principles, it seems logical that Blacks would have lower self-esteem. However, even though the principles are sound, erroneous conclusions may be generated because it

is erroneously assumed that Black children compare themselves with Whites and agree with the majority judgments. The fact that most Black children associate with and compare themselves with other Blacks, rather than Whites, may serve to insulate them from the negative effects of racism.

Counter to some basic assumptions, Black children may not be aware of their racial status because they are isolated from the total society; they may not agree with what mainstream society believes about them; and there may be little personal relevance to the child: ". . . it is virtually certain that the minority child's self-esteem is far more heavily influenced by what his mother, father, teachers, siblings, and classmates think of him than by what the broader society thinks of him" (Rosenberg, 1979, pp. 168-169).

Epps (1980) came to a similar conclusion in an examination of self-esteem as impacted by school desegregation:

In effect, the family and community mediate societal evaluations for the child. Status within the subordinate group may supersede societal status as a determinant of self-esteem in young children. Thus, for many children, the first personal contact with the negative evaluations of the dominant group may come only when they enter school. (Epps, 1980, p. 233)

Epps (1980) summarized several points on self-esteem in Blacks.

First, there is a body of consistent findings which strongly supports the conclusion that blacks have relatively high self-esteem when compared to whites. Second, the evidence on the impact of desegregation is inconsistent, but seems to warrant the conclusion that desegregation has no effect on black self-esteem, or lowers it only slightly. (Epps, 1980, p. 237)

He further pointed out that Blacks and Whites evaluate themselves differently, suggesting that self-esteem may be more important in a school setting than overall self-esteem. "Blacks appear to rely less on school achievement than whites in their self-evaluations, peer influences appearing to be more important" (Epps, 1980, p. 239).

Taylor and Walsh (1979) also remarked on the "counterintuitive" nature of the Black self-esteem studies, and explained: one

assumes that mainstream discrimination and oppression must have their harmful effects on the black psyche, and it is argued that contrary findings reflect inadequacies in research strategy. In particular, it has been suggested that white dominance pushes blacks either to excessive compliance and low self-esteem or to excessive militancy and exaggerated self-esteem. (Taylor & Walsh, 1979, p. 242)

Other explanations include the autonomy of Black subculture, which acts as a buffer; system-blaming; and differences in values. In a study of Black and White parks workers, mail carriers, and high school teachers, Taylor and Walsh (1979) measured system-blame and global and specific self-esteem, with factors of occupational, family, and sociability. Results confirmed the counterintuitive finding that Blacks have equal or higher self-esteem than Whites. However, expected explanations for this finding were not confirmed.

Mainstream oppression did not cause more spread in the distribution of black self-esteem scores than was true for corresponding white scores, and the emergence of 'black pride' ideology among black youth did not seem to account for the relatively high levels of self-esteem among our black workers. System-blaming did not appear to be the key to self-esteem maintenance among blacks, nor was it the lower-status blacks alone who reported self-esteem at least equal to that of their white counterparts. Black self-esteem scores were not lower than white scores for any of our measures, and there was no evidence that the black workers de-emphasized the occupational dimension, where they compared least favorably with whites, in their overall self-evaluations. (Taylor & Walsh, 1979, p. 251)

Remaining possible explanations were the fact that Blacks tend to choose other Blacks as their significant others, and their tendency to use Black reference groups for social comparison. Differences in meaning could also account for self-esteem scores that are counterintuitive.

Hoelter (1983) tested the Rosenberg and Simmons' Self-Esteem Scale to see if there were differences in meanings across race and sex. This was the only instrument that had differentiated race and sex with more than one sample. Results found similar meanings, and "blacks scored higher than whites and males scored higher than females" (Hoelter, 1983, p. 842). Explanations for gender differences were viewed as logical in regard to theoretical positions, but race differences were seen as counter to expected logic.

Theoretical treatment of race and self-esteem is inadequate because of its focus on explaining why blacks should not score lower than whites. Our hypothesis of differential meaning among groups in relation to one self-esteem measure was clearly rejected, suggesting that the race and sex differences which emerged in our analysis are real, further accentuating the need to develop explanations of why mean levels of self-esteem are generally higher among blacks as compared to whites. (Hoelter, 1983, p. 842)

Rosenberg (1972) studied a sample of 5,024 high school juniors and seniors; the self-esteem of 14 ethnic and racial groups was measured, with results showing no relationship between self-esteem and social class. Findings included (1):

Negroes . . . do not have particularly low self-esteem. The self-esteem of these youngsters is slightly below that of whites--39 percent of

the Negroes and 45 percent of the whites had high self-esteem--but it is not nearly as low as one might expect if general societal status were an important determinant of self-esteem. (Rosenberg, 1972, p. 94)

and (2) substantial differences were found in the distribution of self-esteem scores for various ethnic groups. For example Germans had higher self-esteem and Poles had lower self-esteem.

Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) measured the self-esteem of a large and representative random sample of 2,625 school children in the Baltimore area in the Spring of 1968. This sample covered 26 schools in grades 3 through 12; 64% were Black, and there was some skewing toward the working class. Only public schools were sampled and this did not include people who withdrew from school after age 16. Only 2% were from the deep south. Results showed Black self-esteem to be higher than Whites; "the advantage of the black children in respect to self-esteem remains unchanged when socioeconomic status is controlled; indeed, it remains unchanged when SES and age are controlled simultaneously" (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972, p. 5). These self-esteem scores refer to global self-esteem, not specifics.

In another study, Rosenberg (1979) compared the effects of social class and self-esteem and found that age was a factor because there are differences in the

homogeneity of environments based on age groupings. The adult information was based on a sample of 2,300 people aged 18-65 in the Chicago area. Information for the children came from a study of Baltimore school pupils. The effect of race was statistically controlled in both samples. For children ages 8 through 11, no effect was found; a modest effect was found for ages 12 through 14; and a moderate effect was found for adults.

Four principles of self-concept formation help to explain the difference in results: (1) social comparison processes--a child's interpersonal environment is more socioeconomically homogeneous; (2) reflected appraisals--people see themselves through the eyes of others, but children are usually not judged in terms of status; (3) self-attribution--interpretation of success indicates how good he/she is, but for the child success is considered an achievement of his or her parent rather than a reflection on the child; and (4) psychological centrality--how important an issue is to the person; for example, the value one places on money is more important than the actual amount of money; for a child, this concept is not as well-formed as for the adult.

Hoffman and Hale-Benson (1987) studied self-esteem of middle-class Black women, comparing those who work

inside the home and those who work outside the home. Review of the literature found Black women to have high self-esteem, compared to women in general who have lower self-esteem than men. Subjects were wives of middle-class professional men. All subjects had been employed before marriage, had completed college, and had at least one child. Instruments included a background questionnaire, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale which was used to eliminate those who appeared to be untruthful, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. Results showed 65% chose to work outside the home compared with 35% who chose to not be employed outside the home. Self-esteem was high for both groups, but the self-esteem of employed women was significantly higher than unemployed women when using a one-tailed t test, but would not have been significant without directionality.

Demo and Parker (1987) compared grade point average and self esteem of 298 Black and White college students.

Self-esteem scores of blacks and whites were not significantly different, despite blacks having significantly lower grade point averages than whites. The relationship between grade point average and self-esteem, however, was negligible among blacks and among white males, suggesting that academic achievement is not critical to the self-concept of college students. (Demo & Parker, 1987, p. 345)



Jacques and Chason (1977) studied self-esteem in relation to status. Of 972 subjects, there were seven groups: psychiatric patients, prisoners, Black or White college students, city residents, married Black residents, and service-oriented professionals. No relationship was found between self-esteem and lower ascribed status (Blacks, females, and older Americans). "However, persons with lower achieved status in the areas of educational attainment and occupational prestige did have lower self-esteem scores than did persons of higher status" (Jacques & Chason, 1977, p. 399). "Blacks did not score significantly lower than whites within any of the samples (service-oriented professionals, city, prisoners, and psychiatric patients)" (Jacques & Chason, 1977, p. 410).

Explanations for these findings may include the fact that Blacks are an intervening reference group; also, there may be changes in society regarding the value or status of being Black, but there is an alternate explanation:

In certain cases, the pre-existing level of self-esteem (derived from interaction with significant others as well as the general society) determines whether persons achieve high or low status. In other words, women and blacks who possess high levels of self-esteem are likely to have the strength required to endure and to achieve educational and occupational success.

Also, those persons with low levels of self-esteem may feel that they are not capable of educational or occupational success and may yield in their pursuit of success. In either case, a self-fulfilling prophecy can account for persons with high levels of self-esteem having higher educational and occupational status. (Jacques & Chason, 1977, p. 411)

Houston (1984) studied Black consciousness and self-esteem. Subjects were 195 Black male and female undergraduate students, ranging in age from 17 to 23+ years. All were enrolled in Black Studies courses. Black consciousness was measured by the Black Consciousness Survey (BCS) and self-esteem was measured by two instruments: Draw-A-Person Test (DAP), considered to be a nonphenomenological measure, and the Janis and Field Self-Concept Inventory (JF), considered to be a phenomenological measure. Results showed no significant relationship between Black consciousness and either measure of self-esteem for either sex. Also, no relationship was found between the two self-esteem instruments for either sex. Males and older students scored higher on the BCS, but no relationship was found for college major. The JF showed males having higher self-esteem, and college majors were significant, with social science majors showing the highest self-esteem, the literature and arts group second highest, the natural

sciences group came in third, and those majoring in the humanities had the lowest self-esteem.

Cross (1985) distinguished between personal identity and reference group orientation. In a review of 161 studies published between 1939 and 1977, two trends were noted: the negative identity trend from 1939 to 1960 and the evidence of identity change from 1968 to present. In the negative identity period, Cross found that 94% of the studies were based on reference group constructs rather than personal identity. Since few personal identity studies were conducted, "conclusions about the negative or positive nature of the personal identity of blacks from 1939-1960 were purely speculative" (Cross, 1985, p. 161). Further, evidence for a change in identity with the Black Power Phase of 1965-1967 must also be questioned because it was based on a comparison of personal identity studies with reference group studies (Cross, 1985, p. 162).

The following conclusions were delineated:

1. Blacks have consistently had a high sense of personal worth. The Black Movement probably had a less dramatic effect on the personal identity as opposed to the reference group orientation of black people.
2. Blacks have had, and continue to have, a multifaceted reference group orientation such that black and white anchor points may determine behavior depending upon the

- situation being confronted. The Black Movement probably increased the number of black anchor points in a person's worldview.
3. While identity is context bound, the Black Movement has increased the probability that more blacks will superimpose a black orientation upon a greater variety of situations.
  4. An out-group perspective may measure the extent to which the world view of the mainstream group (Americanism) has been internalized by a minority member and not self-rejection. This suggests racial preference studies measure more of a political-cultural propensity rather than a psychological trait.
  5. Contrary to the long held Lewinian hypothesis, reference group orientation does not predict personal identity, but does predict the extent to which a person, neurotic or otherwise, will join in collective struggle and cultural propagation.
  6. Knowing that a person has a strong black identity will not inform us about the nature of his/her personal identity; however, it gives us considerable insight into the person's value system, political posture, and cultural stance. (Cross, 1985, p. 170)

Black self-esteem was included in a doctoral dissertation by Williams (1975), along with several of the same concepts that were examined in the present study (e.g., self-esteem, racial identity, education, occupation, and sex). However, the focus of his dissertation was different, as well as many of the procedures. His purpose was (1) to broaden the qualitative aspects of the Cross model of racial identity, and (2) "to validate the stage construct by

testing the relationship of stage position to various attitudes and orientations which could be measured by psychometric instruments and which were predicted by the model" (Williams, 1975, p. 36). Hypotheses were (1) anti-Black bias will decrease as Black consciousness increases, with the greatest change between stage one and stage two; (2) anti-White bias will increase curvilinearly as Black consciousness increases, with stage three showing the highest; (3) self-esteem will increase as Black consciousness increases; (4) perception of internal locus of control will increase and perception of external locus of control will decrease as Black consciousness increases; and (5) those at present higher levels of Black consciousness will have had characteristics in the past of lower levels of Black consciousness.

Subjects were 57 Blacks from the Cincinnati area (ages 18-47); one-third were graduate and undergraduate students; two-thirds were doctors, nurses, social workers, nurse aides, and clients from mental health agencies. Black consciousness was determined by answers to an Interview Schedule (rated by judges); anti-Black bias was measured by the Anti-Black Scale of Johnson, anti-White bias was measured by the Anti-White

Scale of Steckler; self-esteem was measured by a combination of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale; and locus of control was measured by the Multi-dimensional Internal-External Control Scale by Gurin et al. Results showed support for Hypotheses 1, 2, and 5; Hypothesis 3 was partially supported with a trend in the expected direction; and Hypothesis 4 was not supported. Self-esteem, then, was shown to increase as Black consciousness increased, but the trend was not statistically significant.

In addition, significant differences were found for sex, occupation and educational level, but not for age. Stage I showed a disproportionate number of females and Stage II showed more males. Students, compared with other occupations, were found disproportionately in the advanced Stages, and educational level was lower for subjects in Stage I than other Stages (Williams, 1975, p. 76).

A methodological problem reported was the finding of only four subjects in Stage III, from a sample size of 57. It was not known whether different sampling procedures would have yielded a larger number of subjects in Stage III or whether the small percentage was reflective of the total population.

### Summary

Whereas, Williams (1975) sought to validate the stage construct of the Cross model of racial identity, and secondarily found differences for sex, occupation, and education levels, the present study focused on the role that ethnic/racial identity plays in the socioeconomic status of Black Americans. Evidence has been presented that Black Americans are more free to participate in all levels of socioeconomic status than ever before. However, social mobility for Blacks born in poverty was shown to be especially problematic because of double stratification; and many Blacks remain in poverty at the same time that others have begun to achieve success.

Review of the literature indicated that racial identity is a developmental process regarding within-group differences of attitudes and beliefs about one's own race and is a separate concept from racial group membership. It was further pointed out that Black Americans live in a bicultural world, indicating a need to learn two sets of behaviors and attitudes, but that their self-esteem seems to be based on the degree that social comparisons and reflected appraisals come from the

Black community rather than the dominant culture. It is therefore important that the African identity remain intact even as they learn the norms and behaviors of the mainstream society where most occupational opportunities reside.

Sex differences appear to exist, but it is unclear whether those are from overall society stereotyping or whether Black women have specific differences which can be measured.

Society has changed so rapidly for both women and Blacks that any research findings must be interpreted in terms of the historical era in which they were tested. The present study sought to attain more clarification on these issues by looking at ethnic/racial identity factors.



### CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to examine the relationship between ethnic/racial identity factors and the socioeconomic status of Black Americans. Specifically, subjects were assessed for racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem. Data were analyzed separately for males and females.

The remainder of this section will cover information regarding relevant variables, data collection procedures, hypotheses, instrumentation, data analyses, and limitations of the study.

#### Relevant Variables

The relevant variables were racial identity, biculturalism, self-esteem, and socioeconomic status.

Socioeconomic status was measured by combining the number of the education score and the number of the occupational score from Hollingshead's (1975) Four Factor Index of Social Status. The formal calculation was not used because it was based on family status and the focus of this study was on individual achievement. Further, the formal calculation assigned a greater weight to occupation

than education, and there is evidence that the Black culture assigns more importance to education than occupation (Glenn, 1962). More recently, Isaacs (1984) found the individual's educational level to be the major factor influencing mobility for Black males.

The occupational scale scores from the Four Factor Index of Social Status were used because they are an updated version of the previous Two Factor Index of Social Position which utilized only the two factors of education and occupation (cited in Hollingshead, 1975). For retired and unemployed individuals, their previous occupation was used for the occupational score. For housewives who were never employed outside the home, the data could not be used in the calculations because no occupational scale score exists for that category.

Scoring for the socioeconomic status consisted of a score of 1 through 7 for education status, and a score of 1 through 9 for occupational status from the occupational scales. The resulting sum of the scores for education and occupational status was used in calculations, with a range from 2 through 16.

### Data Collection Procedures

The population for this study was selected from predominantly Black churches in the South Florida area. The South Florida area was defined as Broward, Dade, and Palm Beach counties. The membership size of churches in this population ranged from very small to very large. The population had education levels ranging from lower to higher levels, with a complete range of occupational status levels. Both males and females were represented in this population, as well as all age groups.

A list of 451 predominantly Black churches in the South Florida area was compiled from data contributed by Black leaders. Each church was numbered, and selections were made by computer via a BASIC program which utilized the random number generator function. Predominantly Black churches were chosen as population sites because they have traditionally been the centers of social and political activity for the Black community and have not been limited just to religious activities (Woodson, 1972).

An introductory telephone call was placed to the head of each church in the order selected by computer. If no telephone number was listed for the church, a letter

was mailed requesting contact. Some pastors were unable to be contacted at all. Once telephone contact had been established, the researcher introduced herself as a graduate student in the Counselor Education Department at the University of Florida who had chosen to do her doctoral dissertation research in the Black community, and a request was made for an interview to further discuss the study. In most cases, an interview was arranged either with the pastor or with another church leader assigned to the task. A few problems were encountered, such as illness and vacation times which precluded participation within the time frame allowed for data collection. A follow-up letter was mailed confirming the appointment date and time. In some instances, an almost immediate appointment was granted. A copy of the follow-up letter is provided in Appendix A.

The purpose of the interview was to establish rapport with the church leader, develop trust, and to increase probability for participation in the research. During the interview, information was requested regarding the specific church in order to generate a more complete understanding of the population and to build rapport. Each leader was told the purpose of the study and that the resulting information would be shared with professionals

who work with Black youth. Further, they were assured that the results of the study would be reported back to the organization by the researcher in a format commensurate with the interest of each church. A complete description of the instruments was provided, and questions were answered.

The church leader made the decision regarding the most appropriate time and place for data collection for each congregation, and most church leaders expressed a genuine interest in the project.

Following the interview, a letter (Appendix B) was mailed thanking the leaders for their time and confirming the time of the next contact. This second letter was personalized for each interview circumstance.

If the leader decided to not participate in this study, or if repeated attempts to contact him or her were not successful, the above process was repeated with the next church on the random sample list. The total number of church leaders contacted was 29; and 20 church leaders agreed to participate in the study, representing an acceptance rate of 69% and a rejection rate of 31%. Membership sizes of the participating churches ranged from small (60 or less) to large (over 5,000). Five denominations were represented: Baptist (13),

Pentecostal/Church of God (4), Catholic (1), Episcopal (1), and nondenominational (1).

If the leader decided to participate in the study, plans were made to present the study to the congregation as soon as possible. At the designated time, the study was introduced to the congregation, and voluntary participation was requested. A copy of the leader's introductory speech is presented in Appendix C, and a copy of the researcher's introductory speech is presented in Appendix D. Questionnaires were distributed, and questions were answered as needed. Church volunteers were utilized wherever possible to help distribute forms, read forms to those needing assistance, and collect forms.

The total number of questionnaires distributed was 936, and 458 were returned, representing an overall response rate of 49%. From the total of 458 returned questionnaires, 261 (28% of the total distributed) met the criteria for inclusion in this study: (1) complete data on all four questionnaires; (2) born in the United States; (3) an occupational status that could be scored on the occupational scale; and (4) at least 25 years of age. Occasional missed data on the Racial Identity Attitude Scale was scored as a zero, using guidelines for scoring established by Helms and Parham (1985). Missing data for

age was included in this group if all other criteria were met. Missing data on biculturalism and self-esteem was excluded from the study.

The age of 25 was chosen in order to screen out those people who may be in the process of upward mobility but who have not had the time to attain educational and occupational goals. Country of origin was chosen as a screening factor because of cultural differences which could potentially be a confounding variable. The designated occupation had to be scorable from the occupational scale, and thus responses such as retired, housewife, student, and missing data could not be included. Receipt of welfare was acceptable because there is an occupational scale score for that category.

After data collection, a letter (Appendix E) was mailed again thanking the church leader for assisting in this project. Assurance was given that results would be distributed within the next two months and that ample time would be allowed for discussion and recommendations.

The sample size for this study was much smaller than anticipated, even though each leader endorsed the project. The overall sample size for this study was 458, less than half the 1,000 that was expected. Several reasons may account for this outcome. Distribution of

questionnaires was limited in several cases because the data collection time chosen by the church leader was during or after a service that was attended by a very small number of people (10-20). In other cases, several hundred people were in the congregation, but the data were collected after a long service and attendees chose to not stay. Although a request was made to return the forms denoting rejection, only 22 refusals were formally returned.

### Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses were tested:

1. There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes for males.

2. There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes for females.



3. There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for males.

4. There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for females.

5. There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for males.

6. There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for females.

7. There is no significant relationship between biculturalism and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes.

8. There is no significant relationship between self-esteem and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes.

9. There is no significant relationship between biculturalism and self-esteem.

#### Instrumentation

Instrumentation included a Survey Questionnaire and measurement devices for racial identity, biculturalism,

and self-esteem. Details of assessment tools are as follows:

### Survey Questionnaire

The Survey Questionnaire (Appendix F) is a short form requesting information regarding age, sex, occupation, education, and country of birth. It also includes space for any feedback the subject may wish to provide.

### Racial Identity Attitude Scale

The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (long form) (Helms & Parham, 1985) is a 50-item scale which measures attitudes of Black identity developed by Cross (1971). The Racial Identity Attitude Scale consists of 50 statements, with a five-point response scale for each item, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

Helms and Parham (1985) reported the following internal consistency reliability coefficients for the four

subscales: Pre-encounter, .76; Encounter, .51; Immersion-Emersion, .69; and Internalization, .80.

There are two ways of assigning scores for the Racial Identity Attitude Scale: one is to assume the categories to be discrete variables and use the highest scale score to assign each subject to a single stage; however, caution was advised regarding use of this method because the Racial Identity Attitude Scale measures attitudes which are considered to be continuous rather than discrete variables (Parham & Helms, 1985). The recommended way to assign scores is to consider the categories to be continuous variables and to use "patterns of scale elevations and/or weighted linear combinations of the attitudes" (Helms & Parham, 1985, p. 6) so that "the measure can be used even for those subjects who have attitudes representative of more than one stage" (Helms & Parham, 1985, p. 7).

Both methods were used for this study, but when the first method resulted in 91.6% of the subjects being assigned to the internalization stage of racial identity, the correlations were recalculated using the categories as continuous variables.

In addition, data analysis using the multiple regression technique recommended by Parham (personal

communication, October 3, 1989) was computed as a further analysis. This method provides different kinds of information because it uses all the scores simultaneously.

### Biculturalism Experience Inventory

The Biculturalism Experience Inventory is a slightly modified version of the Biculturalism Experience Inventory utilized by Jenkins (1985) in his doctoral dissertation study of young Black men. Jenkins (1985) had substituted the word "Blacks" for the word "Chicanos" in the Biculturalism Experience Inventory developed by Gonzales-Huss (1984, cited in Jenkins, 1985). For the present study, the words "Before coming to Job Corps" were removed from two of the questions in order to make it applicable for a general population.

Jenkins (1985) reported that the original Biculturalism Experience Inventory (Gonzales-Huss, 1984, cited in Jenkins, 1985) is the set of scored items from the Multiculturalism Experience Inventory, developed by Ramirez, Garza and Cox (1980, cited in Jenkins, 1985). These items "measure the level of biculturalism in three

areas: (1) frequency of intra- and interethnic friendships (6 items), (2) frequency of intra- and interethnic interactions (6 items), and (3) bicultural participation (4 items).

The original Multiculturalism Experience Inventory "correlated .91 with the Multiculturalism index, indicating that these measures were eliciting much the same information. The Multiculturalism Experience Inventory had a split-half reliability of .77-.78 (Ramirez, et al., 1980, cited in Jenkins, 1985).

The original Biculturalism Experience Inventory showed

that with a median split dichotomy ( $Mdn = 23$ ) 36 Chicano college students were differentiated into high biculturals ( $M = 26.76$ ) and low biculturals ( $M = 18.20$ ) with a range of 12-33 (out of a possible 36). With the 73 black youth in the [Jenkins] study, both the mean and the median [were] 22 with a range of 13-33. In computing scores for high and low bicultural groups, the high biculturals ( $M = 26.19$ ) and the low biculturals ( $M = 17.80$ ) have scores comparable to those reported by Garza et al. (1982) [cited in Jenkins, 1985] for Chicano students. For the ANG score, the [Jenkins] subjects had a mean of 27.04 with a range of 13-55 (out of a possible 60). (Jenkins, 1985, p. 67)

Scoring information for the Biculturalism Experience Inventory followed the format reported by Jenkins (1985, p. 56).

### Self-Esteem

According to Parham and Helms (1985), "no instruments to measure Black self-concept or self-esteem have been published" (Parham & Helms, 1985, p. 146). Although the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979) was not developed specifically for Blacks, it has been used with both Black and White populations (Rosenberg, personal communication, May 18, 1989).

Crandall (1973) evaluated the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale as one of the ten best scales currently available to measure self-esteem (Crandall, 1973, p. 401).

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale is a 10-item Guttman scale, with a reported Coefficient of Reproducibility of 92% and a Coefficient of Scalability of 72%, suggesting internal reliability. Two studies reported test-retest reliability of  $r=.85$  and  $r=.88$ . "An examination of these items suggests that they have face validity. Although it is reasonable to question one or another item, it would appear that the items deal with a general favorable or unfavorable global self-attitude" (Rosenberg, 1979, p. 292). Construct validity was examined by comparing the self-esteem measure with

measures of depressive affect, anxiety, and peer-group reputation. Evidence of both convergent and discriminant validity was confirmed by comparisons with the Kelley Repertory Test, the Heath self-image questionnaire, and a psychiatrist's rating. Factor analyses yielded two factors, "positive self-esteem" and "negative self-esteem" (Rosenberg, 1979, pp. 292-295).

After telephone consultation with Dr. Rosenberg wherein he recommended scoring by Likert scale method as opposed to the Guttman scale method (personal communication, September, 1989), a decision was made to follow his recommendation. Each item contains four response choices, and scores range from a value of 1 for the most negative response to a value of 4 for the most positive response. Total scores were calculated by summing the response values for each item, with total scores using the Likert scale ranging from 10 to 40 points.

#### Socioeconomic Status Levels

Information to calculate socioeconomic status level was obtained directly from the Survey Questionnaire.

The education scale score was added to the occupational scale score obtained from Hollingshead's (1975) Four Factor Index of Social Status.

The occupation scales of the Four Factor Index of Social Status were validated with United States Census data for 1970. Analysis showed a gradient between education level and scores assigned to occupational groups. Occupation scores were also found to be correlated with the amount of money earned within each group, with the exception that skilled occupations, with a score of 4, earned more than clerical and sales, with a score of 5. The variation was attributed to the higher prestige assigned to white collar clerical and sales work, even though the blue-collar skilled work brought in more income (Hollingshead, 1975, p. 21).

Occupation scores were correlated with the prestige scores of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) for use in its General Social Survey. "The Pearsonian Product Moment Coefficient of Correlation between the nine-step occupational scale and the NORC prestige scores is  $r = .927$ . The coefficient of determination is  $r(\text{squared}) = .860$ " (Hollingshead, 1975, p. 22).



### Data Analysis

Statistical methods for this study were chosen which measure the relationship between two variables. Data were analyzed via the Statistical Analysis System using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient statistics.

Specifically, a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated between the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity and socioeconomic status, between biculturalism and socioeconomic status, and between self-esteem and socioeconomic status. These correlations were calculated separately for males and females. In addition, Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated between the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity and biculturalism, between the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity and self-esteem, and between biculturalism and self-esteem.

Correlation analyses were also run with racial identity categories used as discrete variables. However,

results will not be reported because 91.6% of the subjects scored in the internalization stage of racial identity.

Additional analyses were computed using the simultaneous multiple regression model which was recommended by Parham (personal communication, October 3, 1989). Because this was not a stepwise model of multiple regression analysis, the order of the entry of the variables was not important. This procedure was used in order to obtain a composite measure of all the variables simultaneously, in addition to the separate correlations which were previously calculated one at a time with the variables and socioeconomic status. These additional analyses addressed the question, "What proportion of variance in socioeconomic status of males (females) can be predicted by the combination of the four components of racial identity (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), along with biculturalism and self-esteem?" A reduced multiple regression model was also run using racial identity scores as discrete variables, but it proved to be a poorer fit and therefore will not be reported.

### Limitations of the Study

The primary limitation of this study is that no conclusive information can be given about the causes of the relationship between the variables. Also, generalizability will be limited because only churches in the South Florida area were sampled.

Further limitations to generalizability include the small sample size, especially for males; the large rate of nonparticipation; the fact that people who do not attend church were not represented; the small representation of subjects in the lower socioeconomic status levels, and the fact that most subjects scored in the internalization stage of racial identity.

Because of the multiple limitations, findings for this study must be considered exploratory and inconclusive, and caution is advised regarding generalizability to the overall Black population.

Results will be reported in Chapter IV.

## CHAPTER IV RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship of ethnic/racial identity variables to within-group differences in socioeconomic status levels of Black Americans. The three identity variables selected for study were racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem.

Pearson product-moment correlations were computed for 261 subjects (67 males and 194 females) for the variables socioeconomic status, the four components of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem. In addition, multiple regression analyses were run with socioeconomic status as the dependent variable. The independent variables were the four components of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem. This computation was used to provide a composite picture of all the variables simultaneously, in addition to the correlations which were computed individually.

The remainder of this chapter will be organized into sections entitled Results of Hypotheses Testing; Results of Further Analyses; Results of Frequency Distribution Information; and Summary of Results.

### Results of Hypotheses Testing

A total of 9 hypotheses were tested using Pearson product-moment analyses. Results are reported below:

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes for males. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance. Results of Pearson correlation analysis are reported in Table 1, page 99. Following are individual results of the correlations between socioeconomic status and the four components of racial identity:

a) A significant negative relationship was found between the pre-encounter component of racial

Table 1  
Correlation Analysis for Males

Pearson Correlation Coefficients  
Prob > |R| under Ho: Rho = 0  
N = 67

	<u>SES</u>	<u>BC</u>	<u>SE</u>	
<u>PRE</u>	-0.33162 0.0061*	0.00100 0.9936	-0.51343 0.0001*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>ENC</u>	0.10560 0.3950	0.18871 0.1262	-0.09526 0.4432	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>IMM</u>	-0.12559 0.3112	-0.06975 0.5749	-0.29528 0.0153*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>INT</u>	0.42288 0.0004*	0.39621 0.0009*	0.36379 0.0025*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>SES</u>	1.00000 0.0	0.01648 0.8947	0.37296 0.0019*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>BC</u>	0.01648 0.8947	1.00000 0.0	0.08589 0.4895	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>SE</u>	0.37296 0.0019*	0.08589 0.4895	1.00000 1.0	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level

\*Significant at the .05 level.

Note: PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter;  
IMM = Immersion/Emersion; INT = Internalization;  
SES = Socioeconomic Status; BC = Biculturalism;  
SE = Self-Esteem.

identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for males ( $p = .0061$ ).

b) No significant relationship was found between the encounter component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for males ( $p = .3950$ ).

c) No significant relationship was found between the immersion/emersion component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for males ( $p = .3112$ ).

d) A significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for males ( $p = .0004$ ).

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes for females. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance. Results of Pearson correlation analysis are reported in Table 2, page 101. Following are individual results of the correlations between socioeconomic status and the four components of racial identity:

Table 2  
Correlation Analysis for Females

Pearson Correlation Coefficients

Prob > :R: under Ho: Rho = 0

N = 194

	<u>SES</u>	<u>BC</u>	<u>SE</u>	
<u>PRE</u>	-0.26386 0.0002*	-0.01834 0.7997	-0.37216 0.0001*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>ENC</u>	-0.02410 0.7387	0.06575 0.3624	-0.06411 0.3745	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>IMM</u>	-0.23924 0.0008*	-0.04696 0.5156	-0.11541 0.1091	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>INT</u>	0.38255 0.0001*	0.09482 0.1885	0.48556 0.0001*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>SES</u>	1.00000 0.0	0.13239 0.0657	0.31352 0.0001*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>BC</u>	0.13239 0.0657	1.00000 0.0	0.11567 0.1082	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>SE</u>	0.31352 0.0001*	0.11567 0.1082	1.00000 1.0	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level

\*Significant at the .05 level.

Note: PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter;  
IMM = Immersion/Emersion; INT = Internalization;  
SES = Socioeconomic Status; BC = Biculturalism;  
SE = Self-Esteem.



a) A significant negative relationship was found between the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for females ( $p = .0002$ ).

b) No significant relationship was found between the encounter component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for females ( $p = .7387$ ).

c) A significant negative relationship was found between the immersion/emersion attitudes of racial identity and socioeconomic status for females ( $p = .0008$ ).

d) A significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for females ( $p = .0001$ ).

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for males. This hypothesis was not rejected ( $p = .8947$ ). Results of Pearson correlation analyses are reported in Table 1, page 99; no significant relationship was found between biculturalism and socioeconomic status for males.

Hypothesis 4: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for females. This hypothesis was not rejected ( $p = .0657$ ). Results of Pearson correlation analyses are reported in Table 2, page 101; no significant relationship was found between biculturalism and socioeconomic status for females.

Hypothesis 5: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for males. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance ( $p = .0019$ ). Results of Pearson correlation analysis are reported in Table 1, page 99; a significant positive relationship was found between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for males.

Hypothesis 6: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for females. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance ( $p = .0001$ ). Results of Pearson correlation analysis are reported in Table 2, page 101; a significant positive relationship was found between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for females.

Hypothesis 7: There is no significant relationship between biculturalism and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance. Results of Pearson correlation analysis are reported in Table 3, page 105. Following are individual results of the correlations between biculturalism and the four components of racial identity:

a) No significant relationship was found between the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes and biculturalism ( $p = .8516$ ).

b) No significant relationship was found between the encounter component of racial identity attitudes and biculturalism ( $p = .0961$ ).

c) No significant relationship was found between the immersion/emersion component of racial identity attitudes and biculturalism ( $p = .3910$ ).

d) A significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and biculturalism ( $p = .0044$ ).

Hypothesis 8: There is no significant relationship between self-esteem and the pre-encounter,

Table 3  
Overall Population  
Relationships of  
PRE, ENC, IMM, INT, BC, and SE

Pearson Correlation Coefficients

Prob > |R|: under Ho: Rho=0

N = 261

	<u>SES</u>	<u>BC</u>	<u>SE</u>	
<u>PRE</u>	-0.27895 0.0001*	-0.01163 0.8516	-0.40604 0.0001*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>ENC</u>	0.02002 0.7476	0.10321 0.0961	-0.06861 0.2694	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>IMM</u>	-0.20947 0.0007*	-0.05331 0.3910	-0.15987 0.0097*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>INT</u>	0.39386 0.0001*	0.17574 0.0044*	0.45542 0.0001*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>SES</u>	1.00000 0.0	0.10013 0.1066	0.33094 0.0001*	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>BC</u>	0.10013 0.1066	1.00000 0.0	0.10859 0.0799	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level
<u>SE</u>	0.33094 0.0001*	0.10859 0.0799	1.00000 1.0	Corr. Coeff. Sig. Level

\*Significant at the .05 level.

Note: PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter;  
IMM = Immersion/Emersion; INT = Internalization;  
SES = Socioeconomic Status; BC = Biculturalism;  
SE = Self-Esteem.

encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity attitudes. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance. Results of Pearson correlation analysis are reported in Table 3, page 105. Following are individual results of the correlations between biculturalism and the four components of racial identity attitudes:

a) A significant negative relationship was found between the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem ( $p = .0001$ ).

b) No significant relationship was found between the encounter component of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem ( $p = .2694$ ).

c) A significant negative relationship was found between the immersion/emersion component of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem ( $p = .0097$ ).

d) A significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem ( $p = .0001$ ).

Hypothesis 9: There is no significant relationship between biculturalism and self-esteem. This hypothesis was not rejected ( $p = .0799$ ). No significant relationship was found between biculturalism and self-esteem.

### Results of Further Analyses

In addition to the formal hypotheses presented above, simultaneous multiple regression analyses were computed using socioeconomic status as the dependent variable and the four components of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization) as independent variables, along with biculturalism and self-esteem. Because this was a simultaneous multiple regression analysis rather than stepwise, the order of entry of the variables was not important. The analysis was computed to answer the question, "What proportion of variance in socioeconomic status can be predicted by the individual components of racial identity (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem?" The multiple regression analyses were found to be significant at the .05 level for both males and females.

For males, Table 4, page 108, shows the multiple regression analyses to be significant at the .05 level ( $p = .0033$ ), and that 27% of the variance of socioeconomic status could be explained by the variables

Table 4  
Multiple Regression Analysis for Males  
Analysis of Variance

Dependent Variable: SES

<u>Source</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F Value</u>	<u>Prob&gt;F</u>
Model	6	149.96628	24.99438	3.723	0.0033*
Error	60	402.77999	6.71300		
C Total	66	552.74627			

R-square = 0.2713

of the four components of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem, with at least one of those variables significantly related at the .05 level of significance. Table 5, page 109, shows that only the variable of the internalization attitudes of racial identity was found to be significantly related to socioeconomic status.

As Table 4 above shows, 27% of the variance of socioeconomic status could be explained by the introduction of six independent variables. Because the p value to test the hypothesis that there is no linear relationship between socioeconomic status and the independent variables is less than .05, at

least one of the independent variables is related significantly to socioeconomic status.

Table 5, below, contains results of the partial test of each independent variable.

Table 5  
Multiple Regression Analysis for Males  
Parameter Estimates

Dependent Variable: SES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Parameter Estimate</u>	<u>T for H0: Parameter=0</u>	<u>Prob&gt;:T:</u>
Intercept	1	1.696570	0.351	0.7270
PRE	1	-0.643447	-0.742	0.4611
ENC	1	0.195908	0.466	0.6427
IMM	1	-0.429898	-0.570	0.5705
INT	1	2.068379	2.518	0.0145*
BC	1	-0.096623	-1.310	0.1951
SE	1	0.129485	1.357	0.1798

\*Significant at the .05 level.

Note: PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter;  
IMM = Immersion/Emersion; INT = Internalization;  
SES = Socioeconomic Status; BC = Biculturalism;  
SE = Self-Esteem.

Because the p value to test the hypothesis that there is no linear relationship between socioeconomic status and internalization, when pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, biculturalism and self-esteem are held constant, is .0145, the hypothesis



was rejected at the .05 level. Socioeconomic status, on the average, increases 2.07 units with a unit increase in internalization when pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, biculturalism and self-esteem are held constant.

Table 6, below, lists the means and standard deviations for the variables used in the multiple regression analysis for males. The correlation coefficients for these variables are reported in Table 1, page 99.

Table 6  
Means and Standard Deviations  
All Variables for Males

<u>Variable</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>
PRE	67	1.73827	0.46605
ENC	67	3.01216	0.88602
IMM	67	2.16307	0.48985
INT	67	4.16358	0.51443
SES	67	11.50746	2.89395
BC	67	20.58209	4.83093
SE	67	35.88060	4.11399

Note: PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter;  
IMM = Immersion/Emersion; INT = Internalization;  
SES = Socioeconomic Status; BC = Biculturalism;  
SE = Self-Esteem.

For females, Table 7, page 111, shows the multiple regression analysis to be significant at the .05 level ( $p = .0001$ ), and that 23% of the variance of

Table 7  
Multiple Regression Analysis for Females  
Analysis of Variance

Dependent Variable: SES

<u>Source</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F Value</u>	<u>Prob&gt;F</u>
Model	6	301.30168	50.21695	9.405	0.0001*
Error	187	998.47667	5.33945		
C Total	193	1299.77835			

R-square = 0.2318

socioeconomic status could be explained by the variables of the four stages of racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization), biculturalism, and self-esteem, with at least one of those variables significantly related at the .05 level of significance. Table 8, page 112, shows that the variables of immersion/emersion and internalization attitudes of racial identity were found to be significantly related to socioeconomic status in this model, with the variable of immersion/emersion attitudes of racial identity showing a negative relationship to socioeconomic status, and with the variable of internalization attitudes showing a positive relationship to socioeconomic status.

As Table 7, page 111, shows, 23% of the variance of socioeconomic status could be explained by the introduction of six independent variables. Because the p value to test the hypothesis that there is no linear relationship between socioeconomic status and the independent variables is less than .05, at least one of the independent variables is related significantly to socioeconomic status.

Table 8, below, contains results of the partial test of each independent variable.

Table 8  
Multiple Regression Analysis for Females  
Parameter Estimates

Dependent Variable: SES

<u>Variable</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Parameter Estimate</u>	<u>T for H0: Parameter=0</u>	<u>Prob&gt;:T:</u>
Intercept	1	4.101944	1.848	0.0662
PRE	1	-0.236705	-0.539	0.5909
ENC	1	0.052453	0.229	0.8191
IMM	1	-0.108563	-3.032	0.0028*
INT	1	1.635487	4.159	0.0001*
BC	1	0.045651	1.222	0.2232
SE	1	0.065244	1.352	0.1781

\*Significant at the .05 level.

Note: PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter;  
IMM = Immersion/Emersion; INT = Internalization;  
SES = Socioeconomic Status; BC = Biculturalism;  
SE = Self-Esteem.

Because the p value to test the hypothesis that there is no linear relationship between socioeconomic status and immersion/emersion, when pre-encounter, encounter, internalization, biculturalism, and self-esteem are held constant, is .0028, the hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level. The immersion/emersion component of racial identity is significantly negatively related to socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status, on the average, decreases 0.11 units with a unit increase in immersion/emersion when internalization, encounter, pre-encounter, biculturalism, and self-esteem are held constant.

Because the p value to test the hypothesis that there is no linear relationship between socioeconomic status and internalization, when pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, biculturalism, and self-esteem are held constant, is .0001, the above hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level. The internalization component of racial identity is significantly related to socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status, on the average, increases 1.64 units with a unit increase in internalization when pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, biculturalism, and self-esteem are held constant.

Table 9, below, lists the means and standard deviations for the variables used in the multiple regression analysis for females. The correlation coefficients for these variables are reported in Table 2, page 101.

Table 9  
Means and Standard Deviations  
All Variables for Females

<u>Variable</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>
PRE	194	1.68502	0.44515
ENC	194	2.84506	0.79499
IMM	194	2.18960	0.51612
INT	194	4.13257	0.51725
SES	194	11.12887	2.59511
BC	194	20.31443	4.51125
SE	194	35.50000	4.15534

Note: PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter;  
IMM = Immersion/Emersion; INT = Internalization;  
SES = Socioeconomic Status; BC = Biculturalism;  
SE = Self-Esteem.

#### Results of Frequency Distribution Information

Frequency distribution information is presented below for each of the four relevant variables.

#### Socioeconomic Status

As can be seen in Table 10, page 115, nearly the complete range of socioeconomic status levels (2-16) was represented in this sample; however, as can be seen more

Table 10  
Frequency Distribution for Overall Sample  
for Socioeconomic Status (SES)

<u>SES</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Frequency</u>	<u>Cumulative Percent</u>
2	1	0.4	1	0.4
4	1	0.4	2	0.8
5	2	0.8	4	1.5
6	9	3.4	13	5.0
7	11	4.2	24	9.2
8	17	6.5	41	15.7
9	22	8.4	63	24.1
10	37	14.2	100	38.3
11	45	17.2	145	55.6
12	23	8.8	168	64.4
13	35	13.4	203	77.8
14	27	10.3	230	88.1
15	21	8.0	251	96.2
16	10	3.8	261	100.0

Table 11  
Frequency Distribution for Overall Sample  
for SES

Frequency																			
:										**									
40 +										**									
:										**	**		**						
30 +										**	**	**	**						
:										**	**	**	**	**	**				
20 +									**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**		
:							**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	
10 +					**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
:				**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
	0	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16				

clearly in Table 11 (page 115), the lower end of the socioeconomic scale is under-represented in the overall sample.

There were almost three times as many females as males in this sample (194 females and 67 males). Table 12, below, shows socioeconomic status levels by gender.

Table 12  
Frequency Distribution for Males and Females  
for SES

Males			*	Females		
SES	Frequency	Percent		SES	Frequency	Percent
2	0	0	*	2	1	0.5
3	0	0	*	3	0	0
4	0	0	*	4	1	0.5
5	0	0	*	5	2	1.0
6	1	1.5	*	6	8	4.1
7	4	6.0	*	7	7	3.6
8	6	9.0	*	8	11	5.7
9	8	11.9	*	9	14	7.2
10	10	14.9	*	10	27	13.9
11	9	13.4	*	11	36	18.6
12	3	4.5	*	12	20	10.3
13	5	7.5	*	13	30	15.5
14	4	6.0	*	14	23	11.9
15	11	16.4	*	15	10	5.2
16	6	9.0	*	16	4	2.1

### Racial Identity

Racial identity attitude scores were computed as individual components (or subscales) of pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization,

because the racial identity attitudes are considered to be continuous rather than discrete variables. However, when racial identity scores were used to assign each subject to a particular stage of racial identity, 91.6% of the people scored in the internalization stage of racial identity attitudes (see Table 13, page 118). Table 14, page 118, shows that 88.1% of the males and 92.8% of the females were in the internalization stage. The encounter stage of racial identity attitudes contained 6% of the males and 6.2% of the females. Six people earned identical scores for two stages, and so data from these subjects would have been eliminated in analyses using these stages as discrete variables. These results indicate that homogeneity of the sample may have limited the possibility of finding linear relationships of these variables with socioeconomic status; therefore, analyses using these stages as discrete variables were eliminated from this report. However, this homogeneity also limits the generalizability of the results that were found in the analyses using the racial identity attitudes as continuous variables.



Table 13  
Frequency Distribution of  
Racial Identity (RI) Categories  
Total Population

<u>Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	6	6.0
ENC	16	22.0
INT	239	91.6

Table 14  
Frequency Distribution of  
Racial Identity (RI) Categories  
Males and Females

<u>Males</u>			<u>Females</u>		
<u>RI</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>RI</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	4	6.0	0	2	1.0
ENC	4	6.0	ENC	12	6.2
INT	59	88.1	INT	180	92.8

### Biculturalism

There was a wide range of scores on biculturalism for both men and women, with men clustering at levels 18-20, and women clustering at levels 16-20. The maximum score attainable was 36, and no one scored higher than 34.

### Self-Esteem

Both males and females tended to score high in self-esteem, with the highest two scores (39 and 40) showing a combined total of 40.3% for males and 28.8% for females. Scores below 32 showed very small percentages for both males and females. The range of possible scores was between 10 and 40.

### Summary of Results

Results of this study showed that for the 261 subjects over age 25 (67 males and 194 females), nearly all socioeconomic status levels were represented, but that the lower end of the scale was underrepresented.

For the correlation analyses, racial identity attitudes and self-esteem were found to be significantly related to socioeconomic status for both males and females, but biculturalism was not found to be significantly related to socioeconomic status for either males or females.

Specific components of racial identity attitudes found to be significant were as follows: For males, socioeconomic status was found to be significantly negatively related to the pre-encounter component of

racial identity attitudes and significantly positively related to the internalization component of racial identity attitudes. For females, socioeconomic status was found to be significantly negatively related to the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes, significantly negatively related to the immersion/emersion component, and significantly positively related to the internalization component of racial identity attitudes.

The three identity variables showed two significant relationship within the variables: Racial identity was found to be significantly related to biculturalism and to self-esteem. Specifically, biculturalism was found to be positively related to the internalization component of racial identity attitudes, and self-esteem was found to be negatively related to the pre-encounter component, negatively related to the immersion/emersion component, and positively related to the internalization component of racial identity attitudes. No significant relationships were found between the variables of biculturalism and self-esteem.

In comparison, results of the multiple regression analyses differed somewhat from the results of the correlation analyses. For men, through simple bivariate

correlation analysis self-esteem, pre-encounter (negatively), and internalization (positively) emerged as significantly related to socioeconomic status; whereas, multiple regression analysis identified only the internalization component of racial identity attitudes to be significantly related to socioeconomic status when all the other variables are held constant. For women, through simple bivariate correlation analysis self-esteem, pre-encounter (negatively), immersion/emersion (negatively), and internalization (positively) emerged as significantly related to socioeconomic status; whereas, multiple regression analysis identified both the significantly positive relationship between socioeconomic status and the internalization attitudes of racial identity and the significantly negative relationship between socioeconomic status and immersion/emersion attitudes of racial identity when all the other variables are held constant.

Results will be further discussed in Chapter V.

## CHAPTER V DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between ethnic/racial identity factors and the socioeconomic status of Black Americans. Subjects were assessed for racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem. Data were analyzed separately for males and females, and statistical analyses included Pearson product-moment correlations and multiple regression analyses.

Analysis of data was computed on 261 subjects (67 males and 194 females) from predominantly Black churches in the South Florida area. Research instruments included a Survey Questionnaire, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale, the Biculturalism Experience Inventory, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. Socioeconomic status was measured by a combination of education and occupation levels derived from Hollingshead's Four Factor Index of Social Status.

The remaining part of this chapter will discuss the findings for each hypothesis separately, along with discussion of the further analyses, implications for

counseling, implications for education, recommendations for future research, summary, and conclusion.

### Hypotheses

Results will be reported below for each hypothesis number, along with relevant discussion:

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity for males. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance. Specifically, a significant negative relationship was found between the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for males ( $p = .0061$ ), and a significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for males ( $p = .0004$ ). This finding indicates that the more successful men in this study tended to have a lesser percentage of pre-encounter attitudes which emphasize individualism and the intellectual superiority

of Whites (Cross, 1971) and a greater percentage of internalization attitudes in which Blacks are the primary reference group yet there is a movement toward a non-racist perspective (Cross, 1980).

This finding is not consistent with Carter and Helms (1988) who found no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and racial identity attitudes. However, their population sample consisted of Black students whose socioeconomic status was based primarily on information regarding their parents, whereas the present study consisted of an older population sample whose socioeconomic status was based on education and occupation levels of the subjects.

Williams (1975) did find significant relationships between stage of racial identity and education and occupational status, although different measuring devices were used for both racial identity stage and socioeconomic status. He found significantly higher levels of education in the encounter and internalization stages of racial identity, and by using the classification of student as a high occupational status found that significantly more students were in the internalization stage of racial identity.

One of the intervening problems in this study was the fact that most of the subjects scored in the internalization stage of racial identity attitudes (88.1% of males and 92.8% of females). This may have precluded detection of relationships that could occur with a more heterogeneous population.

Helms (1989) reported that "most empirical studies of Black racial identity . . . have occurred in predominantly White environments, and have not found high levels of Pre-encounter or Immersion attitudes among participants" (Helms, 1989, p. 233).

Although this study was conducted in a predominantly Black environment, the results are somewhat consistent with that reported by Helms (1989), except for the fact that no one scored in the stages of Pre-encounter and Immersion/Emersion. It was expected that each stage of racial identity attitudes would have been represented, at least minimally. At the same time, the high rate of nonparticipation leaves a possibility that people in other stages of racial identity development simply chose to not participate. Two points made by Helms (1989) support this methodological question: (a) "Perhaps one's identity is shaped by certain environments or perhaps one chooses those



environments that best match one's racial identity" (Helms, 1989, p. 232); and (b) ". . . research participants' level of racial identity may influence their decisions whether or not to participate in research" (Helms, 1989, p. 233). This second point raises questions regarding the validity of the findings for this portion of the study.

The problem of unequal sample sizes per category of racial identity attitudes was also encountered by Williams (1975) in a study of 57 subjects. Stage of Black consciousness, based on Cross's (1971) model of racial identity, was assessed through an interview technique rather than the Racial Identity Attitude Scale used in this study. Although his study contained subjects in all stages, only four were in the immersion/emersion stage. It was unclear whether different sampling procedures would have yielded a larger number of subjects or whether the small percentage was reflective of the total population.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity for

females. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance. Specifically, a significant negative relationship was found between the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for females ( $p = .0002$ ), a significant negative relationship was found between the immersion/emersion component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for females ( $p = .0008$ ), and a significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status for females ( $p = .0001$ ).

This finding indicates that the more successful women tended to have a lesser percentage of pre-encounter attitudes which emphasize individualism and the intellectual superiority of Whites (Cross, 1971), a lesser percentage of immersion/emersion attitudes which contains "the tendency to denigrate White people and White culture while simultaneously deifying Black people and Black culture" (Cross, 1980, p. 85), and a greater percentage of internalization attitudes in which Blacks are the primary reference group yet there is a movement toward a non-racist perspective (Cross, 1980). In other words, the more successful Black women tended to have attitudes of security about their Black identity yet were

more accepting of Whites, and they tended to not have attitudes that devalued either culture.

Since three of the components of racial identity attitudes were significantly related to socioeconomic status for women, compared to two components for men, identity factors may be somewhat more important to success in Black women than to success in Black men. This may reflect the differential status of women. Black women have had to face barriers to success on two levels: one related to race and the other related to sex. Although Black women have been depicted by some as having more employment advantages than Black men (Murray & Mednick, 1977), Jackson's (1973) review of the literature indicated that Black men have had more employment options, because they were relatively more free to choose employment that did not require higher education. Also, the tendency to channel Black women into traditionally female occupations has resulted in a lower level of earnings (Jackson, 1973).

Caution, however, is suggested for interpreting findings in this study which show a difference between males and females because of the disproportionate number of females compared to males in this study. It is

unknown whether a proportional number of males and females would have still yielded the same results.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for males. This hypothesis was not rejected ( $p = .8947$ ); no significant relationship was found between biculturalism and socioeconomic status for males ( $p = .8947$ ).

This finding is contrary to the expectation that the more successful Black men would have higher biculturalism scores because most economic opportunities exist in the dominant White culture. Black Americans live in a bicultural context, and according to Valentine (1971) socialization in both the minority Black culture and the dominant White culture begins at an early age. It would be expected that socioeconomic status would be significantly related to the degree that a person has learned to interact in both cultures.

It is possible that the instrument for measuring biculturalism was not sensitive enough to the present status of American Blacks. For example, some of the biculturalism questions were related to whether subjects interacted with Whites in school and in childhood. Several respondents mentioned during the assessment

process that they had not had the opportunity during childhood to interact with Whites because of segregated schools and neighborhoods. As a matter of further interest in this regard, a Pearson correlation was computed for biculturalism and age in this sample, and results showed a correlation coefficient of  $-0.24$  at the  $.0001$  level of significance. This indicates a possible confounding variable for the biculturalism score based on integrated schooling and integrated work environments which would be reflected in age.

Hypothesis 4: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism for females. This hypothesis was not rejected ( $p = .0657$ ); no significant relationship was found between biculturalism and socioeconomic status for females.

Again, this finding is contrary to the expectation that the more successful Black women would have higher biculturalism scores since biculturalism has been defined as "the ability to function effectively and productively within the context of America's core institutions (the school and the workplace) while simultaneously retaining what many would consider an African ethnic identity"

(Rashid, 1981, p. 58). This definition fits closely with the previous finding in this study that the more successful Black women tended to have internalization attitudes of racial identity which indicates a secure Black identity while accepting the White culture, and they tended to not have attitudes that devalued either culture (pre-encounter and immersion/emersion).

In fact, although the findings did not reach statistical significance, biculturalism, or the ability to interact in two cultures simultaneously, was shown to have a positive, but not statistically significant, relationship to socioeconomic status for women. It is therefore recommended that the relationship between biculturalism and socioeconomic status continue to be studied in the future. In view of the fact that most occupational opportunities exist in the dominant White culture, it is logical to expect that the ability to function in both cultures would lessen identity conflicts and allow a greater degree of comfort on a feeling level, as well as on a behavioral level. Since Black Americans have been forced to live in two cultures, a high degree of biculturalism would indicate a greater degree of adjustment to the reality of two cultures rather than having to choose one over the other.

Hypothesis 5: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for males. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance ( $p = .0019$ ); a significant positive relationship was found between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for males.

High self-esteem, or feeling that one is "good enough," has been cited as an important characteristic of a successful person (Lecker, 1986, p. 5). Until recently most people assumed that Black self-esteem was lower than self-esteem of White people (Rosenberg, 1979). However, recent findings indicate that Blacks have equal or higher self-esteem than Whites (Epps, 1980). Rosenberg (1979) found that when the effects of race were statistically controlled, social class was moderately related to self-esteem in adults, but not for children.

Perhaps a long history of having to overcome barriers to success caused by discrimination has prepared Black men to succeed as long as they have positive images of themselves. On the other hand, it would also be logical to expect that the attainment of success would increase self-esteem.

Hypothesis 6: There is no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for females. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance ( $p = .0001$ ); a significant positive relationship was found between socioeconomic status and self-esteem for females.

High self-esteem would logically have a significant relationship to the ability to succeed for women as well as men. Jacques and Chason (1977) found a significant relationship between self-esteem and achieved educational and occupational status, but they did not find a significant relationship between self-esteem and ascribed status (Blacks, females, and older Americans were considered to have lower ascribed status).

Hoffman and Hale-Benson (1987) studied self-esteem of middle-class Black women and found that self-esteem was high for both those women who worked outside the home and those who did not; however, the self-esteem of those women who worked outside the home was significantly higher than those who were unemployed.

Hypothesis 7: There is no significant relationship between biculturalism and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization



components of racial identity. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance. Specifically, a significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and biculturalism ( $p = .0044$ ).

This finding would logically be expected because both biculturalism and the internalization component of racial identity attitudes include respect for both cultures. As pointed out previously, internalization attitudes refers to a feeling of security about one's Blackness yet also indicates a movement toward a non-racist perspective. Biculturalism for Blacks likewise indicates an African ethnic identity while also including the ability to function effectively in both cultures (Rashid, 1981).

Hypothesis 8: There is no significant relationship between self-esteem and the pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization components of racial identity. This hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance; specifically, a significant negative relationship was found between the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem ( $p = .0001$ ), a significant negative

relationship was found between the immersion/emersion component of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem ( $p = .0097$ ), and a significant positive relationship was found between the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and self-esteem ( $p = .0001$ ).

One interpretation of these findings might be that self-esteem and racial identity may not be entirely separate concepts. For example, if one's attitudes of racial identity are predominantly in the internalization stage of racial consciousness, one of the qualities is feeling comfortable with one's sense of identity in the Black culture without feeling hostility to the White culture--or it could be said that one's sense of self-esteem is high in the context of racial awareness. The negative relationships with pre-encounter and immersion/emersion are more difficult to assess, but are partially consistent with findings by Parham and Helms (1985): "pre-encounter and immersion attitudes tend to be associated with low self-esteem. Encounter attitudes were associated with positive self-esteem, and, although not significantly related, internalization attitudes were positively associated with self-esteem" (Parham & Helms, 1985, p. 145).

It is possible that low self-esteem is associated with pre-encounter and immersion/emersion because of related feelings about racial identity. For example, the pre-encounter stage is associated with a view of the world as "nonblack, antiblack, or the opposite of black" and whites are viewed as intellectually superior (Cross, 1971, p. 155). Feelings of low self-esteem therefore might be a result of comparison.

The finding of a significant negative relationship between self-esteem and the immersion/emersion component of racial identity attitudes is difficult to explain unless, as speculated by Parham and Helms (1985), feelings of low self-esteem may be in reaction to "previous denial of his or her Black identity" (Parham & Helms, 1985, p. 146).

Williams (1975) found partial support for the hypothesis that self-esteem would increase as level of Black consciousness increased. Although not statistically significant, the results approached significance (Williams, 1975, p. 64).

Hypothesis 9. There is no significant relationship between biculturalism and self-esteem. This hypothesis was not rejected ( $p = .0799$ ). No significant

relationship was found between biculturalism and self-esteem.

Biculturalism seems to refer to a concept separate from self-esteem. In other words, whether one has high self-esteem or low self-esteem may not affect whether he or she has the ability or desire to function in two cultures at the same time. However, a significant relationship could be logically expected between these two concepts. To be able to function in two cultures simultaneously could be viewed as a valuable skill. Self-esteem could be expected to increase with the addition of a valued skill. Further, the internalization component of racial identity was found to be significantly related to both biculturalism and self-esteem so there may be some amount of shared characteristics. As stated previously, however, the measurement of biculturalism is possibly affected by the confounding variable of age.

### Further Analyses

In addition to the formal hypotheses presented above, multiple regression analyses were computed

separately for males and females. Results showed that for men internalization attitudes of racial identity were significantly related to socioeconomic status. The variable of self-esteem was not found to be significant in the multiple regression analysis, even though the correlation analysis indicated a significant relationship between self-esteem and socioeconomic status for men. Perhaps the variance factors of self-esteem were included as part of the internalization component of racial identity attitudes, since a significant relationship was found between internalization and self-esteem in the correlation analyses. It is important to note that results of multiple regression analyses show a composite of all the variables simultaneously and so the results would not necessarily correspond to results of correlation analyses which are computed one at a time with socioeconomic status.

Results of a multiple regression analysis for women showed a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and two of the racial identity stages: the internalization component of racial identity attitudes was found to be positively related and the immersion/emersion component was found to be negatively related to socioeconomic status. The variable of

self-esteem again was not included as having a significant relationship to socioeconomic status when the other independent variables are held constant. Therefore, it is important to recognize the difference between these two statistical methods. The absence of the self-esteem variable from significance in the multiple regression analysis does not preclude its importance, but indicates rather that the variance factors of self-esteem were accounted for in the internalization variable.

For Black women who attend church, results indicate that the higher the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and the lower the immersion/emersion component of racial identity attitudes, the higher the socioeconomic status is expected to be for Black women under the assumption that the encounter component of racial identity attitudes, biculturalism, and self-esteem are held constant.

### Implications for Counseling

Results of this study show a significant positive relationship between success for Black American men and the internalization attitudes of racial identity and

self-esteem. Also shown was a significant negative relationship with the pre-encounter component of racial identity attitudes and socioeconomic status. For Black women, success was significantly related to self-esteem, as well as a positive relationship with the internalization component of racial identity attitudes and a negative relationship with the pre-encounter and the immersion/emersion components of racial identity attitudes. Biculturalism was found to be positively but not significantly related to success in Black women. However, a significant relationship was found between biculturalism and the internalization component of racial identity which may be an indication that biculturalism and success may be significantly related in some way, since the internalization component of racial identity was found significantly related to socioeconomic status in both males and females, for both correlation analyses and multiple regression analyses.

Black youth who are striving to succeed in the present socioeconomic environment may need guidance regarding how to maximize their potential to achieve. Although exploratory in nature, results of this study

may be used as a springboard for further discussion regarding one aspect of the counseling process, the aspect of ethnic/racial identity issues.

These results point to the need to explore ethnic/racial identity factors when counseling Black people who are striving to succeed. Evidence suggests that the ability to interact in both cultures which maintains a secure feeling of Black identity may be important variables in the success of Black Americans.

Since the ability to function in two cultures has been related to adjustment in the Hispanic culture (Szapocznik et al., 1980; Szapocznik et al., 1984), this new information regarding biculturalism in the Black success model indicates its possible importance as a topic for discussion for both individual and group therapy. The need to explore one's feelings regarding racial identity and biculturalism factors could be a part of the same process. And finally, the need to direct time and effort to increase self-esteem for both men and women who are striving for success seems both important and relevant in this regard.

Many clients may also benefit from reading about racial identity and biculturalism, so specific reading material could be assigned as part of the counseling process.



Although these findings have limited generalizability, they could still be used as issues to be more fully explored in the counseling process.

### Implications for Education

To a great extent, changes in socioeconomic status levels begin with education because education ultimately prepares students for various occupational pursuits. Teachers, then, have a unique opportunity to encourage Black students to succeed. It may be helpful for teachers to understand Black identity issues as part of understanding the way that Blacks view their world so that opportunities to increase socioeconomic status may be maximized.

Understanding Black identity issues may facilitate changes in expectations that are so critical to the teacher-student relationship. In summarizing the findings of others, White (1975) concluded:

" . . . the psychological quality of the interpersonal relationship, the critical variable in the teacher-student dyad, is measurably influenced by the

teacher's personal values and his or her expectations of how well or how poorly the student will perform. . . "

Understanding the identity issues of racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem may help teachers overcome some of the cultural barriers that sometimes interfere with a teacher's ability "to create a psychological climate characterized by the facilitative conditions of genuineness, positive regard, and empathic understanding in their relationships with Black students." (White, 1984, p. 117).

### Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore some of the ethnic/racial identity variables that might be related to success in Black Americans. The more successful Black men in this sample tended to be higher in self-esteem and higher in the internalization component of racial identity attitudes, and lower in the pre-encounter component. However, they did not appear to have a greater degree of biculturalism, possibly due to the fact that the measuring device for biculturalism was not sufficiently sensitive to the present status of

Blacks. These findings may indicate the the more successful Black men tend to not believe in the intellectual superiority of Whites, and tend to feel secure about their Black identity and to use Blacks as their primary reference group while at the time time moving toward a non-racist perspective. Their higher self-esteem may be related to a history of overcoming barriers to success caused by discrimination, and at the same time their achievement may also increase their levels of self-esteem.

For the more successful Black women, however, results were somewhat different. They tended to be higher in self-esteem, higher in internalization attitudes and lower in pre-encounter and immersion/emersion attitudes of racial identity. Further, although not statistically significant, there was a positive relationship approaching significance with the identity variable of biculturalism.

These findings may indicate that for successful Black women ethnic/racial identity factors may be more important to socioeconomic status than for Black men. The more successful Black women appear to be less inclined to believe in the superiority of either the Black culture or the White culture, but appear to

feel secure in their Black identity and may be moving toward a non-racist perspective. Their high self-esteem, as with Black men, may be related to both their ability to achieve and may be further increased by their accomplishments. Although not statistically significant, there is evidence approaching significance that te also have have the ability to interact in both cultures simultaneously.

Although this was an exploratory study based on a limited sample, the results may still be useful for Counselor Education because of its focus on the timely topic of cultural identity issues in a time of rapid change. Not only have laws been enacted to provide opportunities where there had previously been more overt color boundaries, but an upsurge of Black consciousness has also helped to raise the level of expectations for success. At the same time, however, there is evidence that conditions and quality of life are worsening rather than improving for Black people (Oliver & Glick, 1982). Since there has been an increase in poverty at the same time that Black achievement has grown, there is clearly a need for more knowledge about those who do succeed.

The main contribution made by this study is that it points out some tangible and specific factors that

need to be addressed, not only in future research but also when counseling Black clients who are striving to succeed against the odds.

One factor is that of racial identity. Although this is an exploratory study, there is evidence that this factor needs to be explored further. In a changing environment, it is possible that Black clients who are striving to succeed may have identity-related problems from "trying to combine what they perceive as the best of the two worlds" (White, 1984, p. 159).

The internalization attitudes of racial identity were significantly related to success for both males and females. This finding is consistent with the two theoretical constructs of racial identity and biculturalism chosen for this study. The expectation is that a balance is needed between the Black minority culture and the dominant White culture, rather than extremism in either direction. According to Cross (1980), the internalization stage:

signals the resolution of conflicts between the "old" and "new" world views. Tension, emotionality and defensiveness are replaced by a calm, secure demeanor. Ideological flexibility, psychological openness and self-confidence about one's blackness are evident in interpersonal

transactions. Anti-white feelings decline to the point where friendships with White associates can be re-negotiated. While still using Blacks as a primary reference group, the person moves toward a pluralistic non-racist perspective. (Cross, 1980, p. 86)

A second factor is that of biculturalism.

Although no significant relationships were found between biculturalism and socioeconomic status, the relationship between socioeconomic status and biculturalism approached significance for women. Further, there was a significant relationship found between biculturalism and the internalization component of racial identity attitudes which was strongly associated with higher socioeconomic status. Since biculturalism refers to the ability to interact in both the minority Black culture and the majority White culture, it logically relates very well to the internalization stage of racial identity. Therefore, the lack of significant findings in this regard is questionable, and further research is recommended in this area.

The fact that Szapocznik et al. (1980) found biculturalism to be positively related to adjustment in Hispanics lends additional support for this recommendation. Biculturalism counseling for Blacks has

already been recommended by de Anda (1984) and Ziter (1987). The Bicultural Effectiveness Training method developed by Szapocznik et al. (1984) may also be useful for working with Black clients. In this training model, emphasis is placed on communicating respect for both cultures so that family conflicts are lessened.

The third factor that needs to be addressed with Black clients is that of self-esteem. Although it was pointed out that Blacks do not necessarily have lower self-esteem than Whites, its significance in relationship to socioeconomic status in Black Americans in this study needs to be emphasized.

#### Recommendations for Future Research

This study was exploratory in nature, and the findings need to be further studied, especially regarding ethnic/racial identity issues and biculturalism. An instrument for measuring biculturalism which does not focus on the past needs to be developed so that the variable of age does not significantly alter the scores.

Generalizability of this study is limited to the Black population in the medium to high levels of

socioeconomic status in the South Florida area who attend church, so future research needs to broaden the scope. Not only do other geographic areas need to be included, but also populations that do not necessarily attend church need to be assessed.

Several difficulties were encountered during this research project which need to be discussed and possibly changed in future research in this area. First, many of the churches from the compiled list were quite small and either did not have telephones or telephones were answered infrequently. Because of this, the initial efforts to establish contact with some of the church leaders was quite time-consuming and some were not able to be contacted at all. Perhaps future researchers could make selections from a list of only those churches who have provided names of leaders and home telephone numbers if church telephones are seldom answered. In other words, a part of the research effort would be devoted to editing the list of churches prior to assignment of numbers for the random selection procedure.

Second, attention needs to be given to increasing volunteer participation. One of the limitations of this study was the small sample size, especially for men. Several factors may have contributed to this result. One



factor may have been the sensitive nature of the topic of racial identity attitudes. Although interviews with the church leaders helped to establish rapport and develop trust with the church leaders, the actual data collection procedure did not allow time for much interaction with the congregation. It is interesting to note that the response rate for smaller groups was much higher than the response rate for larger groups. This may have been a result of large group behavior versus small group behavior, and if so should be a consideration for the methodology of future research in this area.

Third, the lack of representation in the lower socioeconomic levels is a concern. Although nearly all socioeconomic status levels were represented in this sample, most of the subjects tended to be in the moderate to high groupings, with 55.2% between levels 8 and 12, and 35.6% between levels 13 and 16. This may limit the generalizability of these results since 31% of Black Americans were considered poor by the Census Bureau in 1985 (cited in Glasgow, 1987, p. 129). A methodological consideration may be the reading level of the instruments used and the need for more personalized administration of the questionnaires in some cases.

A related issue may be the high number of respondents who did not meet the necessary criteria for inclusion in this study. Although it was initially determined that those under age 25 and those not born in the United States would be excluded, there was also a high number of responses with missing data. It is possible that the sensitive nature of the topic was again a factor, as well as the length of the questionnaires and perhaps the reading level.

In addition, researchers in the Black community need to be aware of the wide range of differences that characterize this ethnic minority group, some of which are evident and some of which are subtle. Methodology needs to allow for variations in lifestyles, and one of the best ways of doing this is to spend enough time to establish rapport and gather information by exchanging viewpoints. Finally, community involvement in any research endeavor seems crucial to the success of the project.

### Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between racial identity, biculturalism, and self-esteem to socioeconomic status in Black Americans. As noted in the introduction to this study, Black Americans live in a minority culture that is encompassed by a majority culture containing most of the economic opportunities. It would therefore be expected that the people most likely to succeed would be those who are most able to interact comfortably in both worlds, are most comfortable with their own cultural identity, and with their own personal identity. The primary expectation was that a balance would be needed, rather than extreme or exclusive identification with either culture. First, it was expected that the most successful people would be those who are in stages 4 and 5 of Cross's racial identity model because they are comfortable with themselves as Black people and can function effectively in both cultures. Second, a high degree of biculturalism was expected to predict greater success because of one's degree of comfort regarding knowledge of "two distinct behavioral repertoires for utilization in the minority

and majority societies" (de Anda, 1984, p.10). Third, the most successful people were expected to be those with high self-esteem.

Results of this study confirmed two out of three of those expectations. First, internalization attitudes of racial identity were found to be significantly related to socioeconomic status for both males and females, and pre-encounter attitudes were found to be significantly negatively related to socioeconomic status for both males and females, with the additional finding of a significant negative relationship between immersion/emersion attitudes and socioeconomic status for females. Internalization attitudes refer to stage 4 of Cross's model. (Stage 5 was not assessed.)

Generalizability of this result is limited because most of the subjects scored in the internalization stage.

Second, the expectation that biculturalism would be higher for the more successful people was not confirmed. However, it is recommended that this identity issue be further studied because results indicated that the relationship between biculturalism and socioeconomic

status for females approached significance, and because a significant relationship was found between biculturalism and the internalization component of racial identity attitudes.

Third, as expected, self-esteem was highly correlated with socioeconomic status for both males and females.

In conclusion, this study points out the need to explore the relationship of ethnic/racial identity variables when counseling Black clients who are striving to succeed. However, so many limitations have been documented throughout this dissertation that these results must be viewed as inconclusive and exploratory.

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APPENDIX A  
SAMPLE LETTER

Dear ----

Thank you for your consideration regarding the research for my doctoral dissertation on success in the Black culture. I am looking forward to meeting with you on (weekday), (date) at (time).

Thanks again for your cooperation. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX B  
SAMPLE LETTER

Dear ----

Thank you for your time during our meeting on on  
(weekday), (date) at (time).

As we discussed during our meeting, I plan to be at your  
church on (weekday), (date) at (time) in order to  
administer the questionnaires.

Thanks again for your assistance. If you have any  
questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX C  
LEADER'S INTRODUCTORY SPEECH

We have with us today a graduate student from the University of Florida in Gainesville. As part of her doctoral research, she would like to ask you some questions about your attitudes and beliefs regarding life in the Black culture. In exchange for your voluntary participation, she has agreed to return to a meeting in the future to discuss her results.

I have talked at length with Ms. Hughes, and I am interested in the kind of work she is doing. I hope you will be willing to stay for the time required to participate in this study.

Also, because minors would need their parents' consent to participate, please fill out these forms only if you are age 18 or older.

And now may I present Betty Hughes.



APPENDIX D  
RESEARCHER'S INTRODUCTORY SPEECH

Thank you. As an introduction to this study, what I would like to do first is read the Informed Consent paper that is being handed out now. Please feel free to keep your copy of this page.

I am doing a research project for my dissertation as a part of the Ph.D. program in Counselor Education at the University of Florida in Gainesville. I need people who are age 18 or older to fill out questionnaires about their backgrounds and attitudes and beliefs about themselves and others.

If you decide to help, your answers will be kept strictly anonymous. Please do not put your name anywhere on these forms.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and the only thing I can offer in return is my sincere thanks and a presentation of the results at a future meeting similar to this one. You may decide to not continue this process at any time if you wish.

Results of this research will be published as part of my dissertation, and may also be used as part of future journal articles or other published material.

Thank you for your participation in this study. If you have any questions at any time during this process, please feel free to ask.

The questionnaires will now be handed out, along with pencils if you need them. Before you get started, please notice that there are 4 questionnaires and that they are printed on both sides of the page. The first questionnaire is just a personal data sheet that I wrote. Please answer each question, and if you have any comments after you have finished, please use this space and the back of the last page to write in.

The second questionnaire begins on the back of this page and is on page 2. Again, it is very important that you answer each question. On some you will agree and on some you will disagree. Please notice that you can choose from 5 answers, from strongly disagree to disagree to uncertain to agree to strongly agree. The third questionnaire begins on page 5. Please write an x or a check mark next to your answer. The fourth and last questionnaire is on page 7. Please notice that there are 4 possible answers instead of the 5 on the second

questionnaire, so you can choose from strongly disagree to disagree to agree to strongly agree.

My overall interest is in success in the Black culture, and your feelings about yourself, and your feelings about the Black culture, and your feelings about the White culture. These questionnaires were chosen very carefully. The second and third questionnaires were written by Black people for use in the Black culture. The last questionnaire was written by a White person, but has been used extensively in the Black culture as well.

If you decide to not participate, please draw a line through the top page and turn in the forms. I need to keep track of how many decide to not participate.

Again, thank you for your time. I will return to discuss the results after mid-October.

If you have any questions at any time, please raise your hand, and I will answer them individually. You may begin to answer the questionnaires now.

APPENDIX E  
SAMPLE LETTER

Dear ----

Many thanks to you and your church membership for participating in the research for my doctoral dissertation on (weekday), (date) at (time).

As soon as the data have been compiled, I will contact you again to set up a time to distribute the results.

In the meantime if you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX F  
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female

Occupation (Please be specific as to what kind of work you do: please do not write the name of your company. Also, if you own a business, please give approximate size of business.) (If you are unemployed, retired, or a housewife, please use your previous occupation to answer this question.)

Occupation (specific job): \_\_\_\_\_

Education level:

_____ 1 - 2 grade	_____ one year college
_____ 3 - 4 grade	_____ two years college
_____ 5 - 6 grade	_____ three years college
_____ 7 - 9 grade	_____ Bachelor's Degree
_____ 10 - 11 grade	_____ Masters Degree
_____ 12 grade	_____ Ed.S. Degree
_____ Vocational School	_____ Doctorate Degree

Country where you were born: \_\_\_\_\_ U.S. \_\_\_\_\_ Other

Any comments you would like to add would be most appreciated. Please use back of page, if necessary.

APPENDIX G  
INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Participant:

I am doing a research project for my dissertation as a part of the Ph.D. program in Counselor Education at the University of Florida in Gainesville. I need people who are age 18 or older to fill out questionnaires about their backgrounds and attitudes and beliefs about themselves and others.

If you decide to help, your answers will be kept strictly anonymous. Please do not put your name anywhere on these forms.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and the only thing I can offer in return is my sincere thanks and a presentation of the results at a future meeting similar to this one. You may decide to not continue this process at any time if you wish.

Results of this research will be published as part of my dissertation, and may also be used as part of future journal articles or other published material.

Thank you for your participation in this study. If you have any questions at any time during this process, please feel free to ask.

Sincerely,

Betty Hughes, Ed.S.  
Counselor Education Dept.  
University of Florida  
Gainesville, FL 32611  
(904) 392-0731

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Betty Sanders Hughes received her Bachelor of Arts degree in psychology from the University of Florida in June 1975. She graduated with high honors and was elected to the Society of Phi Beta Kappa and the Society of Phi Kappa Phi.

She received her Master of Education and Specialist in Education degrees in counselor education from the University of Florida in March 1978. Her focus area was counseling ethnic minorities.

She presently lives in the South Florida area with her husband, Ken.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Woodrow M. Parker, Chair  
Professor of Counselor Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Gerardo M. Gonzalez  
Associate Professor of Counselor Education

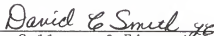
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Robert C. Ziller  
Professor of Psychology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School as was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1990



Dean, College of Education

Dean, Graduate School